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Jemayel sworn in, pledges Arab ties

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

BEIRUT — Lebanon's new president, Amine Gemayel, was sworn into office at noon yesterday and promptly pledged to strengthen his country's ties with the Arab world.

Standing in front of a picture of his brother Bashir, who was assassinated last week before he could assume office as Lebanon's president, Gemayel said he desired closer ties with the Arabs "out of free choice."

"Lebanon must re-establish its friendly ties with the others, with its nearest neighbours," he began with, her Arab brethren. Lebanon's belonging to the Arab environment is a natural phenomenon. It is a free choice governed by Lebanon's reality, its interests and its quality as a member of the Arab League," he told the parliament deputies who gathered at the military camp at Fayyadiyah near here. Among the diplomats attending the ceremony was U.S. special envoy Philip Habib.

Amin referred to the Arabs as "brethren," in contrast to Bashir who had spoken of them as mere "friends."

In his speech yesterday, Gemayel did not mention Israel by name, although he clearly referred to it when he said, "We seek a strong state which can put an end to all

foreign military presence in Lebanon."

Political sources who favour continued ties with Israel pointed out, however, that the new president had vowed to fulfil his late brother's "dreams and hopes," which they maintained, included ties with Israel. These groups feel an affinity with Israel because, as Christian Maronites — they are also a minority in the predominantly Moslem Arab world. But it was not clear how much influence they now wield.

Israel had developed ties with the military arm of the Phalange party, which was headed by the late Bashir, while Amin is much more politically oriented.

The Phalange-dominated Lebanese Forces yesterday made a point of stressing Amin's military activities. A curriculum vitae they distributed said he had "led the Lebanese resistance in its fight against Palestinian armed elements in the mountains and coastal regions in 1975-76."

While the Phalangists see the PLO as their enemy, and were allegedly responsible for last week's massacre of Palestinians here, Amin has reportedly met PLO leader Yasser Arafat and his deputy Abu Iyad.

Some seasoned observers here expect Amin Gemayel to walk a diplomatic tightrope to keep



Amin Gemayel is sworn in as Lebanon's 14th president yesterday in the military academy outside Beirut. Next to the new president is the speaker of the House, Kamel el-Assad. (UPI telephoto)

U.S. Marines due to land in Beirut over the weekend

WASHINGTON — Eight hundred U.S. Marines are expected to enter West Beirut this weekend, U.S. State Department spokesman John Hughes said yesterday. The marines will be backed by an additional 400 troops, who can be landed if necessary.

"Our expectation is that if they go in this weekend, the Israeli troops will be gone," Hughes said, referring to withdrawal plans being discussed by Israel and the government of Lebanon.

However, he said that if Israel Defence Force troops are still in West Beirut when landing preparations are complete, "our plan is to go ahead."

Hughes said that Israeli forces are continuing to leave West Beirut, with the Lebanese Army taking control of that part of the capital. He added that the U.S. has not received a formal response from Israel to President Ronald Reagan's demand that Israel withdraw its forces from all of Lebanon.

The planned landing of French troops to form the first detachments of the multinational Lebanese peace-keeping force was postponed late yesterday, an embassy spokesman said.

The 350 crack paratroops aboard the French Navy troop carrier *L'Argenteau* were rescheduled to land at the Beirut port at 6 a.m. this morning.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)



Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, President Yitzhak Navon, Defence Minister Ariel Sharon and his wife, Lily, during yesterday's service at the paratroopers' memorial near Rehovot. (Story page 2)

Cabinet split threatens on inquiry

Coalition ministers, parties warn Begin

By MARK SEGAL

TEL AVIV — The NRP, Tami and Minister-Without-Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat yesterday served notice that Premier Menachem Begin will have to bend to their demand for an authoritative inquiry into the Beirut massacre or face the fall of his government. (See NRP, Page 2)

Ben-Porat has intimated to confidants that he might resign at next Tuesday's cabinet meeting if Begin does not announce an inquiry commission. He reportedly explained that his stand was consistent with the one he took in the mid-1960s when he left Mapai with the late David Ben-Gurion over the latter's call for a judicial inquiry into the Lavon Affair rather than a politically-appointed panel.

The defection of Liberals Yitzhak Berman and Dror Zeigerman over the inquiry issue has already reduced the number of votes Begin can rely on from 64 to 62, and any more shifts could mean the collapse of his coalition. The outcome might either be an alternative government led by Labour, or more probably

Begin may still decide to set up commission

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Prime Minister Menachem Begin himself may yet propose a judicial commission of inquiry, under the terms of the 1968 "Commissions of Inquiry Law," even though he insisted on the coalition voting down an opposition motion to this effect on Wednesday.

Begin, it is reliably understood, considers this option still open and available to him as one of the possibilities for a "suitable examination of the facts" which he promised his coalition partners he would propose within a fortnight.

If the prime minister were eventually to propose a judicial commission under the law — as the opposition and many non-political bodies and individuals are demanding — he would explain his initial rejection of the demand by his need to first examine the issue himself, carefully and thoroughly.

He would argue, too, that there is a significant public and political difference between such a commission being set up as a result of an opposition motion, and its being set up as a result of the government's own freely-taken initiative.

Thus when he said in the Knesset on Wednesday that the vote on the opposition demand was "tantamount to a vote of confidence,"

Big turn-out predicted for anti-government rally in TA

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV — Tens of thousands are expected at a mass demonstration at Kikar Mafhei Yisrael at 8 p.m. tomorrow organized by the Alignment, the Citizens' Rights movement and the Peace Now movement. The organizers will call for the immediate withdrawal of the IDF from Beirut and for a judicial investigation into the massacre.

The Independent Liberals, Shinui, the Soldiers against Silence and Yesh Gvul groups, and the Noar Oved Velomed, Hashomer Hatzair and Mahanot Haolim youth movements have announced that they will join the demonstration.

Thousands are expected to arrive from kibbutzim, moshavim and townships all over the country. Some Arabs and Beduins have also indicated they will attend.

Rehov Tbn Gabirol and the other streets around the square will be closed to traffic a little before

Bush denies U.S. interference

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan was yesterday described as very anxious to avoid any appearance of interfering in the stormy Israeli political debate which has surfaced in the wake of the Beirut massacres.

"The president is concerned about anonymous stories that he or anyone else at the top of his administration would want to interfere in internal Israeli politics," Vice-President George Bush said. "I can't emphasize strongly enough that that is not true."

Bush, addressing a Washington Press Club luncheon, insisted that "the president strongly respects Israel and its democratic process."

The vice-president was careful in his prepared speech, as well as during the question-and-answer session, to avoid putting any direct blame on Israel for the mass murder

IDF knew of killings Thursday night

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

The senior command of the IDF knew on Thursday night that civilians were being killed by Phalange troops in the Shatilla refugee camp.

According to information which has reached and been verified by *The Jerusalem Post*, a report from the Phalange commander in Shatilla sent to the IDF commander in Beirut at 11 p.m. Thursday stated that "until now 300 civilians and terrorists have been killed."

The report was immediately transmitted to IDF headquarters, where it was circulated among more than 20 appropriate officers and offices. Usually copies of messages of this nature reach the bureau of the defence minister, and certainly the bureau of the chief of staff.

The message stated explicitly that civilians were being killed and was attributed to a report made to the IDF command in Beirut by the Phalange commander heading the "mopping up" operation in Shatilla.

The message did not specify how many terrorists or how many civilians had been killed.

This new information comes in direct contradiction to Defence Minister Ariel Sharon's statement in the Knesset on Wednesday that on Friday at 11 a.m., 12 hours after the message reached IDF headquarters, there were only "suspicions" that civilians were being killed by Phalange troops, and totally contradicts a public statement by Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan on Saturday that the IDF had no knowledge until Saturday morning of what was going on in Shatilla.

The fact that the Phalange commander in Shatilla reported to the IDF command also points to the close contacts between the IDF and the Phalangists sent into the camps with IDF sanction and cooperation (the IDF, by Sharon's admission, supplied aerial and mortar illumination), and indicates a flow of information from the Phalange units in the camps to the IDF command.

It was not until Saturday morning, almost 36 hours after the first report of civilian killings reached the IDF command, that any action was taken by the IDF to end the slaughter, even though a demand for the cessation of Phalange activities was formally made on Friday afternoon. (On Friday morning, Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori reported to Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir that a massacre was taking place at Shatilla. Shamir has subsequently said that he checked but found no truth to the rumours.)

The existence of the IDF message which was very widely distributed was not mentioned by Sharon in his address to the Knesset on Tuesday. He said only that rumours began to filter out of the camps on Friday.

Senior official to leave press post

Jerusalem Post Staff

Ze'ev Chafetz, director of the government Press Office and one of



the foremost articulators of government policy to the press, has asked for an extended leave of absence from his post.

(Continued on page 2, col. 5)

Garden of Eden may have been near Afikim

LONDON (UPI) — Two geologists suggested in the scientific magazine *Nature* yesterday that the evolution of man may not have taken place in Africa, as many scientists believe, but rather in Israel.

In an article entitled "Closer to Eden," Charles A. Repenning of the U.S. Geological Survey and Oldrich Fejfar of the Geological Survey of Czechoslovakia said research into a site at Tel Ubeidiya in Israel indicates it may be possibly 500,000 years older than any record of similar artifacts of early man in Africa.

Tel Ubeidiya is located two kilometres northwest of Kibbutz Afikim in the Jordan Valley.

"It has been suggested that the evolution of man took place in Africa," the scientists said. "This suggestion results from the unusual abundance of fossil material in Africa that is quite ancient in comparison with what is known elsewhere. The theory of an African origin has influenced the interpretation of the age of some non-African archaeological sites."

"A case in point is the Ubeidiya locality in Israel, which is generally considered to be about 700,000 years old because it has been assumed by a few that the associated early Acheulian tool industry and the persons who used it would have taken considerable time to disperse from Olduvai Gorge (in Africa) to this non-African site in Israel."

The scientists said evaluation of fossils and artifacts from Ubeidiya raises "no substantial reason for considering the locality younger than two million years and possibly as much as 500,000 years older than any record of early Acheulian artifacts or *homo erectus* in Africa."

Of Bar-Yosef, professor of archeology at the Hebrew University, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that the findings published in *Nature* are consistent with those of his own team, which has been working at the Tel Ubeidiya site for some years.

BULLETIN

The officer commanding the IDF's Staff and Command College, Tat-Aluf Amram Mitzna, has asked the chief of staff to release him from his duties and to go on leave, "in view of the events in Beirut over the past few days," the army spokesman announced last night. The spokesman added that the chief of staff, Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, had called Tat-Aluf Mitzna in for a meeting at which his motives were discussed. Rav-Aluf Eitan accepted the officer's request for an interview today with the Defence Minister.

Navon rejects call

President Yitzhak Navon yesterday called for an end to appeals that he become involved in politics.

The president's statement followed a call by the Allon group of the Labour Party that he resign and become active in the party's efforts to topple the Begin government.

Navon said that such attempts to involve him in politics "interfere with his work as president and do harm to the institution of the presidency."

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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's	Today's	Max
Jerusalem	45	14-26	27
Golan	44	16-26	27
Nahariya	57	15-29	29
Safed	48	15-24	26
Haifa Port	50	21-28	28
Tiberias	41	19-33	34
Afula	46	18-29	30
Shomron	41	18-28	29
Tel Aviv	46	20-28	29
B-G Airport	46	19-29	30
Jericho	40	18-34	34
Gaza	56	20-28	28
Be'er Sheva	34	16-30	31
Eilat	21	22-34	35

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Professor Nehemia Levinson has been named director of the Ben-Zvi Institute which does research on Oriental Jewry. The Institute is connected jointly to the Hebrew University and Yad Ben-Zvi.

Hannah Polombo, director of the Don Centre for the Aged in Be'er Sheva, and the staff of the Infirm Section of the Acre Regional Home for the Aged have received the 1982 Eshel Award for outstanding service to the elderly.

U.S. MARINES

The French action was coordinated with the U.S. and Italian governments, who are also contributing troops to the multinational force, the spokesman said. He declined to give a specific reason for the landing's delay.

Israeli troops were still deployed around the port area late yesterday. An armoured personnel carrier and an infantry detachment were less than 300 metres from the bombed-out waterfront where the French were due to land.

There was friction last month when the French troops which landed found that Israeli troops were still deployed in the positions around the city which the French had been assigned to hold.

"We certainly hope that they will be gone tomorrow. They had better be gone," the French embassy spokesman said.

He added that the French units were under the command of General Jacques Granger, who also commanded last month's detachment.

HOME NEWS

IDF sources rebut Sharon insinuation

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

There were no Israeli officers in or around Tel az-Zaatar at the time of the massacres there in 1976, according to a senior officer questioned by *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

In his speech to the Knesset Wednesday, Defence Minister Ariel Sharon insinuated that the IDF and the then Defence Minister Shimon Peres were somehow implicated in the affair.

The *Post* has learned that there were two Israeli officers in Beirut for three days between July 28 and July 31, 1976 whose job it was to maintain contact with the Phalangist forces. But these officers were not in Tel az-Zaatar, did not take an active part in the campaign and were

only tangentially involved in the planning of the battle of Tel az-Zaatar, which lasted for almost 60 days.

Both officers were out of Beirut when the actual killings took place on August 13 and August 14 1976, and there were no Israelis there at all during that period, or any other period other than the last three days of July.

Sharon did not specifically state that Israelis were actively involved in the 1976 massacre, but implied that they were and that Peres, who was then minister of defence, had sanctioned the slaughter. Peres denied Sharon's insinuation on the spot.

Senior military officers said yesterday they were "horrified" both by Sharon's insinuation and by

his revelation of top-secret material for political purposes.

Shinui chairman Amnon Rubinstein yesterday appealed to the National Religious Party, Tami and Telem's Minister-without-Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat to pressure Premier Menachem Begin to dismiss Sharon because of his "totally unfounded slander of the IDF" concerning the Tel az-Zaatar massacres.

"Any patriot must shiver at the dreadful damage wrought to the name of Israel and the IDF by this man who has provided grist to the propaganda mill of Israel's enemies and especially of the PLO terrorists. If he is not dismissed, it will seem that the government backs his fabrication," the Shinui leader claimed.

Rabin accuses Sharon of 'blood libel'

By BENNY MORRIS
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday Defence Minister Ariel Sharon was guilty of "blood libel" against the IDF and Israel.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party also spoke of the possibility of filing a libel suit against Sharon, according to an informed source.

Rabin was referring to Sharon's statement in the Knesset on Wednesday, linking the IDF to the Phalangist massacre of Palestinians

in Tel az-Zaatar in 1976 during the Lebanese civil war.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin's aide, Yehiel Kadishai, who was also asked about Sharon's statement, said yesterday that *The Jerusalem Post* does not have a monopoly on besmirching Israel for the benefit of the foreign press.

Kadishai said that he has not heard Begin's views on the matter.

Rabin's statement clearly indicated his sense of outrage, as he and Sharon had generally been on good personal terms during their

(Continued on back page)

IDF helicopter flew Haddad to Beirut on day of killing

Jerusalem Post Staff

South Lebanese militia leader Major Sa'ad Haddad admitted yesterday that he was flown into Beirut by Israeli army helicopter last Friday — but he denied that he had anything to do with the massacre in the Shatilla and Sabra camps.

In an interview with the London *Times* newspaper, excerpts of which were carried in a UPI dispatch from London, Haddad claimed he had been flown to Beirut en route to Bilkaya, to pay a condolence call on the Jenayel family following the assassination of Bashir Jenayel.

He conceded, however, that some of his men "may have been serving with other forces in Beirut" when the killings occurred. "Officially, I didn't have any men in Beirut," said Haddad, who was interviewed at his home in Southern Lebanon.

He estimated that 10 "or perhaps 20" of his men had been in Beirut last Friday, but denied claims by survivors of the atrocities that his men had killed refugees in the camps. He also rejected reports by foreign newsmen that men wearing the olive-green uniform of his militia were seen outside the camp.

"All of them, they are liars. They are most of them paid by the PLO," he said. "Maybe they saw some of our badges because some of our people may have been serving with other forces in Beirut."

"This business has nothing to do with me," Haddad concluded. "Why, I wouldn't even know where to find Shatilla."

Asked last night to comment on Haddad's remarks, the IDF spokesman stood by his denial of September 21 that any of Haddad's men had been flown into Beirut.

30 injured as Beirut ammo dump explodes

Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEIRUT. — At least 30 persons were injured yesterday when a Lebanese ammunition dump exploded in the eastern sector of Beirut.

The first explosion occurred at 9:40 a.m. when a Lebanese soldier dropped a case of explosives, police officers reported. Within minutes, numerous blasts followed in quick succession as panic-stricken Beirutis dashed for cover.

This reporter saw several hundred metres away when the dump exploded. A huge cloud of grey smoke engulfed the camp,

which is situated near the museum crossing point between the two sectors of the city. Shells fell in nearby streets and powerful blasts shook the area.

Two hours later, huge explosions still rocked the warehouses containing the ammunition, which sources said had been confiscated from terrorists evacuated from West Beirut last month. The Phalangist radio station said the depot had contained 800 tons of ammunition and rockets.

At first people here thought the arms dump was Israeli. "That's Israel's latest present," one man said bitterly.

Egypt assures Israel on ties

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Officials in Jerusalem were relieved and reassured to hear from Egypt yesterday that the recall of Ambassador Sa'ad Mortada this week "for consultations" is not intended to presage graver acts of diplomatic hostility.

A high-level message from Cairo received at the Foreign Ministry assured the Israel government that "diplomatic and consular" relations would not be disrupted. The mes-

sage declared that Egypt remained fully committed to Camp David and the peace treaty.

The reference to "consular" ties embraces the two country's consulates, at Alexandria and Elat.

In the wake of the message, officials here are hoping that Mortada's absence from Israel will indeed prove to be short — as he himself hoped it would when he left earlier in the week.

Officials here say privately they fear for Israel's diplomatic relations with several other countries as the storm of worldwide condemnation continues to mount following the Beirut massacre.

There have been moves in a number of countries — and Israeli diplomats are working all out to counter them — to reduce the level or the scope of diplomatic ties between those countries and Israel, at least temporarily, as a form of "punishment."

Bomb blasts embassy of Israel in Bogota

BOGOTA, Colombia (AP). — A bomb exploded yesterday in front of the Israeli Embassy here but it was not immediately clear if there were any injuries, police said.

Ambassador Haim Aron is not in the city, the embassy said, without elaborating.

Police speculated that the bomb was placed to protest the massacre of Palestinians in Beirut last week, but no one claimed responsibility for the blast.

3 IDF soldiers hurt

Three IDF soldiers were wounded at about 10 p.m. yesterday when bazooka shells were fired at a patrol southwest of Beirut, the IDF spokesman announced. The patrol returned fire and began combing the area.

JEMAYEL

(Continued from Page One)

Lebanon on good terms with both Israel and the Arabs.

Jemayel said he would not present a detailed political programme. "One sole matter concerns me. That is the cessation of the cycle of violence and bloodshed on the soil of Lebanon," he said.

After his speech, Jemayel raised his right hand to swear allegiance, as members of the 92-seat chamber stood. Later, some members kissed him on both cheeks.

Jemayel will now move to select a new prime minister and together they will form a cabinet. Incumbent premier Shafik Wazzan is expected to tender his resignation next week, but will undoubtedly be asked to continue in a caretaker role until Jemayel's consultations with members of parliament are completed.

Informed sources said Jemayel will form a large cabinet, in order to include the widely-divergent Christian, Moslem and Druse groups which make up this fragmented society. This would be a step forward in his declared intention of achieving national unity and territorial integrity.

COALITION

(Continued from Page One)

deciding on their future path in the Begin coalition. "We kept a low profile during the war for the sake of national unity, but now there is a terrible malaise among the people which can only be lifted if the events in Beirut are properly investigated," he declared.

Despite vigorous lobbying by Interior Minister Yosef Burg inside the NRP to stay with the Begin government whatever happens, the feeling among delegates to the national executive meeting yesterday was that the alliance with the Likud was outliving its usefulness. A veteran supporter of Burg's Lamfalé faction, Yosef Burstein, yesterday told the minister from the rostrum "It's not Labour that we should fear at the polls, but Begin's 'with God's help'."

There was talk in the ZOIA House corridor that the NRP might consider renewing its old partnership with Labour. When asked about Burg's unwavering fidelity to Begin, some seasoned Lamfalé veterans said that their 71-year-old faction head had never before enjoyed such a feeling of importance.

It is understood that both Education Minister Ze'evulun Hammer and Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir have not destroyed the resignation letters they readied for Wednesday's Knesset debate. They will use them should Begin not honour his promise to hold an inquiry. *The Jerusalem Post* was told.

Apparently Begin was obliged to promise them that he would even pick a judicial figure. A highly-placed NRP politician told *The Jerusalem Post* that he had received the impression that Begin thought the appointment of an inquiry committee would be seen by Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan as a vote of no-confidence and that he would resign.

Friends of Berman told *The Post* last night that the crunch will most probably come after the Knesset's winter session opens and the coalition whip seeks Berman's vote and that of Zeigerman. Meanwhile both said they continue to consider themselves part of the Likud and the coalition.

However rumours continued to circulate yesterday about their contacts with Ezer Weizman on forming a new centre party. The former defence minister, when contacted yesterday, said he intended cleaving to his decision to keep silent for the time being.

Scientists join demand for inquiry

Jerusalem Post Reporter

REHOVOT. — Over 200 scientists from the Weizmann Institute of Science have signed a petition urging a state commission of inquiry into the Beirut massacre.

A delegation of the signers, including Profs. Leo Sachs and Igal Tami, plan to present the petition to Prime Minister Menachem Begin this morning.

The petition states: "All of us, without regard to our political views or party affiliation, are shocked and horrified by what has happened. We do not believe that the establishment of an inquiry commission will serve to indicate the guilt or responsibility of some particular Israeli body. At the same time, only the establishment of such a commission will make it possible to determine, despite the presence of the Israel Defence Forces in Beirut, how a terrible thing like that could happen and who is responsible for it."

"The establishment of a state inquiry commission seems to us absolutely necessary if Israel's moral fibre is to be maintained."

The Hebrew Writers Association yesterday also called on the government to establish an official investigation. "The Jewish humanist tradition on which Zionism and this state are fed," the association said, prompts it to do its utmost to press for an inquiry."

In Vienna, Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal said the people responsible for the massacre must be found and brought to trial.

Jews could not demand trials of Nazis suspected of murdering millions of fellow-Jews and then not expect the criminals in Lebanon to be tried, he said.

Former justice minister Shmuel Tamir also urged the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry under the chairmanship of a judge or retired judge.

Former diplomats join appeal

Jerusalem Post Staff

Twenty-seven former ambassadors in Israel's foreign service yesterday came out in support of creating a state commission of inquiry into last week's massacres in West Beirut.

"A state with ethical values such as those held by Israel requires such an inquiry so that its image appear in the right light both in its own eyes and those of the world," the diplomats' public statement said.

The signatories are: Yosef Avnion, Mordechai Avidan, Zvi Avnon, Yehiel Ilar, Moshe Alon, Shimon Amir, Asher Ben-Nathan, Yehuda Golan, Mordechai Gazit, Eliezer Doron, Hava Har-El, Yitzhak Harkabi, Esther Heilitz, Yoram Ram-Yaron, Avshalom Caspi, Katriel Katz, Hanan Eynor, Avraham Sarulius, Dov Satat, Rehavam Amir, Yehonatan Prato, Simha Pratt, Ya'acov Tsur, Alexander Tsur, Mordechai Kidron, Ya'acov Shimeoni, David Pasher.

OFFICIAL

(Continued from Page One)

Chafetz submitted his request yesterday to the Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office, Matityahu Shmuelovitz, explaining that he wants a year off to write a book on the media and the Middle East. He reiterated this explanation when queried by *The Jerusalem Post*.

Journalistic and government circles in Jerusalem believe, however, that Chafetz's departure the day after the Knesset debate on the Beirut massacre is an act of conscience on his part. These circles say Chafetz has been dismayed by the government's performance in the aftermath of the massacre and feels that Israel is blundering in the presentation of its case abroad.

Chafetz, born in the U.S. in 1947, was a professional campaign worker for the Likud during the 1977 elections and was considered close to Deputy Premier Simcha Ehrlich, the Liberal Party leader. He was appointed to the press office post soon after the Likud government took office — and immediately started streamlining the GPO's service to local and foreign journalists.

Chafetz's changes at the GPO were widely praised by veteran correspondents.

He has also been an important and popular background source on government policy to many senior foreign correspondents.

He is known to have clashed in recent weeks with some government officials on their attitude to the foreign media. He objected to what he felt was an attitude of blanket condemnation and a tendency to regard almost all media as being deliberately hostile.

BLOOD. — Magen David Adom is holding an emergency blood-collection campaign this weekend at Netanya's Zion Square.

Navon urges Jemayel to find Beirut slayers

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

REHOVOT. — "If the new president of Lebanon Amin Jemayel discovers who committed the massacre at Shatilla, his presidential seal will be safe. If not, all the help in the world will not ensure his presidency," President Yitzhak Navon said yesterday. He was speaking at the annual ceremony in honour of the fallen at the paratroopers' memorial south of here.

Navon said the murderers are known to be Lebanese and in Lebanon. He warned Jemayel that if he does not apprehend them, "the fire from the graves at Shatilla will burn down the cedars of Lebanon."

Navon said the new president is receiving good wishes from everyone. "I also send him my blessings and wish him success in uniting the Lebanese nation."

The president also said that he viewed the Knesset decision to investigate the massacre as a positive step. "I repeat what I said publicly a few days ago: This matter must be investigated to refute the slanders heard in Arab countries, and which others have repeated in order to blame the IDF for the massacre."

When Defence Minister Ariel Sharon began to speak, he was interrupted by two persons who shouted at him that he was a "murderer." Others tried to quiet them, explaining this was not the place for such protests. One of the protesters was dragged from his seat by the ushers.

Sharon, apparently shaken by these outbursts, talked with restraint but in anger. When he referred to the massacre at Shatilla he said: "I say this to you, bereaved families, that if we erred, if we did not take the right decision, this subject will be investigated thoroughly."

"But in the face of the slanders and hatred rampant in the world, we in Israel must stand together. If we are united, we will be stronger than they."

He declared that the present campaign is being aimed at Israel's reputation "in order to force upon us an agreement we cannot accept. This is why they are trying to pin the responsibility on us for an act we did not commit." He did not say who "they" were.

"We are full of hope that we have reached the end of our struggle," he said, but emphasized that "we are still sitting on a barrel of gunpowder."

Abraham Yabul, chairman of the Committee of Bereaved Parents, called for an inquiry. "It is our duty to investigate this matter in the most thorough manner, to clear away every doubt surrounding this tragic event. This must be done to buttress the strength of IDF, for the sake of our self-image so that we can look our children in the eyes, for the sake of our sons who fell, and so that we can be a nation amongst nations."

Yabul also said that since the memorial meeting last year, 80 new names had been added to the memorial plaque which carries the names of 1,800 paratroopers, who died on active service.

Also at the ceremony were Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, who did not speak, and many other senior IDF officers. A bereaved brother said the mourners prayer. The IDF cantor chanted *El Male Rahamin*. At the end of the ceremony, wreaths were placed at the foot of the memorial.

When Sharon left, he had difficulty reaching his car because dozens of bereaved families came over to shake his hand and wish him well. This spontaneous act drew a smile on his face for the first time.

Hammer, Burg clash

By MARK SEGAL
Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — The two National Religious Party ministers yesterday clashed over the Beirut massacre inquiry commission issue at their party's national executive meeting at the ZOIA House here.

After Interior Minister Yosef Burg dwelt at length on the need to avoid rocking the government, Education Minister Ze'evulun Hammer said, looking straight at Burg at the other end of the rostrum:

"Dr. Burg said we have above all to save the government, and I say that 'I will not let the government minister if the matter is not properly investigated.'"

There was silence in the hall as the 230 delegates sat stunned by Hammer's closing words, and then they quietly dispersed.

Hammer spoke of "the horrendous slaughter of the innocents in the refugee camps. Great political damage has been caused to Israel. I have feared for some time during this war at the likely dulling of sensibility towards human lives."

Stressing that Israelis were certainly not to blame for the dreadful massacre, he said a proper inquiry still had to be made. Hinting at the bitter behind-the-scenes disagreement on the previous day with Burg, which had prompted the latter to press Begin to shift his stand, Hammer told the meeting that he had voted with the coalition after being formally promised that a proper inquiry would be made.

As religious Zionists they in particular had to have an acute sense of moral responsibility, he said. Hammer insisted it was not a partisan issue to demand a proper inquiry. "We are near the eve of Yom Kippur. Can we be all people afford to carry on as if nothing has happened?"

Earlier, the national executive resolved to hold internal party elections in April 1983.

The Herut Party secretariat yesterday registered its participation in "the pain and anger of the entire nation over the horrendous massacre in Beirut." It also vigorously rejected "blood libels from home and abroad as if any Jewish hand was involved in the terrible slaughter."

Herut also accused the Labour Alignment of abandoning all sense of national responsibility and of exploiting the Beirut events "for organized incitement to make political profits at home and to aid our enemies abroad."

BUSH

(Continued from Page One)

mined than ever to bring peace to the region," Bush said. "He believes that stability in Beirut is an essential first step, but he also believes now is the time to push forward to have all foreign troops peacefully withdrawn from Lebanon."

But at the same time, he reiterated U.S. support for Israeli security. "For our part, we will work even harder for peace that will protect Israel's borders. And now is

the time for Israel to signal that it, too, intends to accelerate the drive for peace."

"Israel's borders and Lebanon's borders must be protected," he said.

"Innocent Israelis must be protected from the bombs, the rockets, and the terror which have been inflicted upon them since the State of Israel was created. Not one bit less protection is deserved by a Lebanese mother of a Palestinian child."



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Police claim radicals incite Israeli Arabs

By YOEL DAI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Police have information that radical groups among Israeli Arabs plotted the disturbances of the last three days in which 46 policemen, 40 Arabs and nine Jews were injured. Northern Police Chief Commander Nitzav Yitzhak Eran said yesterday.

Eran said that the radicals encouraged Arab pupils not to attend classes, to block main roads and organize demonstrations and parades without permit, in protest against the massacres in Beirut. Some of the demonstrations turned into riots when mobs attacked police stations and tried to set them on fire.

Speaking of the clashes in Nazareth on Wednesday which resulted in the hospitalization of 17 local residents, Nitzav Eran said policemen fired in the air at the order of senior police officers at the scene. He claimed that the Arab demonstrators were hit by riot police. Police have set up a special commission to look into the exact circumstances, and Nitzav Eran said the commission, Eran said.

He disclosed that he and senior police officers convened with Arab dignitaries and chairmen of local councils in Galilee and Triangle villages and urged them to use their influence to prevent hotbeds from breaking the law.

"We live in a democratic country and citizens have the right to demonstrate or to protest but in the framework of the law and not in a partisan way," Nitzav Eran said that he told the dignitaries. But the response was reportedly cold and in many cases they did not respond to police advice.

Meanwhile, Arab representatives yesterday accused police of provocation and using needless force. Rawas Jerassi, Nazareth Deputy Mayor, said that police started the riots in Nazareth when a policeman slapped a demonstrator in the main street. He said the police surrounded the building where councillors and Communist

leaders convened and prevented them from leaving. Jerassi said police moved off only when Interior Minister Yosef Burg ordered them to leave the building. Jerassi said that policemen fired in the direction of Mayor Tawfik Zayyad's house and it was a miracle that nobody of his family was hit. The government should set up a special committee headed by a judge to investigate recent events in Nazareth, Jerassi said.

Sakhnin Local Council Chairman Jamal Tarabieh admitted that villagers there demonstrated but he said they kept order. His version contradicted that of the police.

In Taibe, 26 Triangle residents were released by the police yesterday after having been arrested during Wednesday's demonstrations. Five persons, three of them minors, are still being held on charges of having attacked policemen and disturbing the peace.

Life in the Triangle returned to normal yesterday and all the schools were open. The only demonstration took place in Taibe, when a group of pupils marched from their school to the house of Salah Baransi, leader of the leftist Arab groups in Israel. Baransi, who was released from police custody yesterday after having been arrested two days earlier, advised the pupils to return quietly to school.

The police did not intervene and no damage was caused.

Liora Mariel adds: Life returned to normal yesterday in Beidun villages in the Negev after Wednesday's demonstrations during which five persons were arrested, several police vehicles and Egged buses damaged, and a private car and many tires burned.

The police spokesman claimed that extreme elements had exploited last week's massacres in Beirut to stir up trouble.

Abraham Abu Rezaqui, head of the Arab sector of the Beersheba Labour Council, yesterday echoed this view. "I was for the strike (in the Arab community), but not for incitement. There are people who want to fish in murky waters, but I'm against them," he said.

El Al has 20 daily flights —but under another name

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — El Al is continuing to sell tickets and to take reservations despite the management's announcement last week that it has stopped doing so. Although officially shut down, El Al is operating some 20 daily flights to and from Israel on chartered aircraft, and will continue to do so at least until the end of October, it was learned.

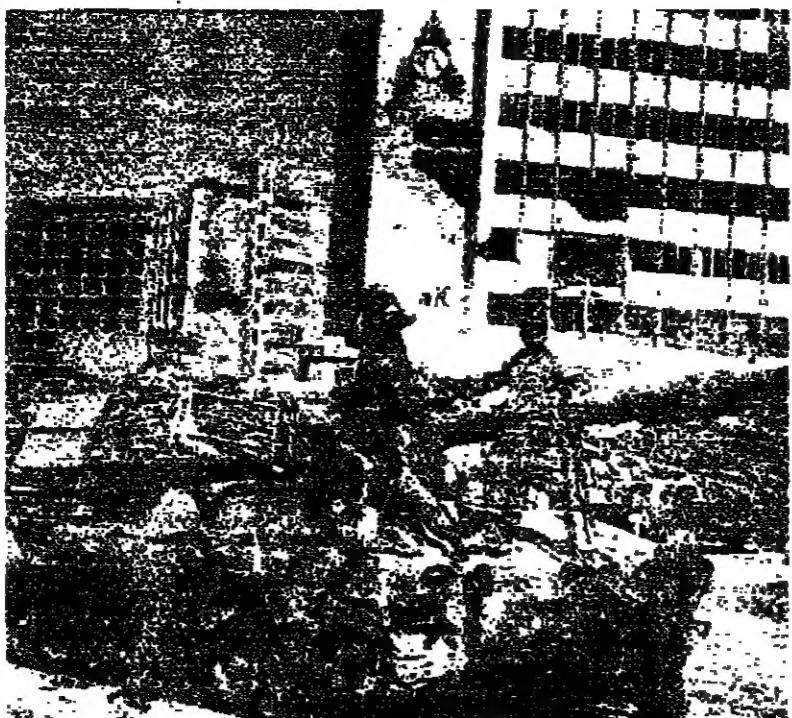
El Al's chartered flights will probably be held on Saturdays and holidays as well, a management source said yesterday, because the aircraft do not belong to the company.

Meanwhile, the Tel Aviv Labour Court yesterday postponed hearings on the work dispute at El Al until October 12.

The Histadrut and works committees

have asked the court to declare illegal the letters of dismissal to 11 stewards and the letters sending some 3,800 workers on unpaid leave. The source said El Al is continuing to sell tickets because it is hard to refuse customers who want to pay for an El Al flight. However, he added, the management is due to convene today to discuss how long to continue making reservations and in what cases.

El Al's works committees yesterday reiterated their demand that El Al's "irresponsible" management resign, because of the huge financial losses caused the airline by using chartered planes while its own aircraft are grounded. The airline is also still paying salaries to all its workers, of whom only 20 per cent are actually working, the committees charged.



A group of Israeli soldiers aboard a tank prepare to leave West Beirut — part of the thinning out of IDF forces. (UPI telephoto)

Tourism, hotels face crisis because of Beirut situation

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel's hotels, already in the doldrums, are facing a new wave of cancellations as tourists around the world are making it clear they have no wish to visit the Jewish state in the light of the Beirut massacre.

Yehuda Gruenbaum, manager of the Ramada Shalom, Jerusalem's largest hotel, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that "the telex is absolutely quiet. If it works at all, it is to tell of another cancellation."

He said that October, which after a bad summer was to be a good month, is now a disaster. Other hoteliers told the same story. Jews and Christians from the U.S. and Europe have been cancelling their reservations.

The Hotel Association met for an emergency meeting yesterday, but agreed that with the current atmosphere of antagonism to Israel there is nothing to be done at the present.

Israel's tourist information offices around the world meanwhile report that they are in what amounts to a state of crisis. Travel agents and journalists, they say, simply do not want to have anything to do with Israel. A \$2m. government tourist promotion budget, which previously was considered a drop in the bucket, has now been frozen, because everyone concerned agrees that it would be wasted if spent now.

The closing of El Al and the

Italian boycott of planes to or from Israel add difficulties for anyone who does want to visit. Most of the places are taken by El Al passengers who have been transferred to other lines.

The El Al closure has also meant that the company's promotion staff abroad has stopped working and all the various special packages which El Al offered have become inoperative. Hoteliers say they would not be surprised if tourism drops by 30 to 40 per cent this year.

One hopeful voice came from Hans Keller, vice-president of Sonesta International. With a new hotel in Jerusalem, a hotel about to open in Eilat and the Sonesta Daniel Tower to reopen in September 1983 in Herzliya, Sonesta will become the largest international chain in Israel. Keller noted that international tourism is cyclical by nature and that a national tourist industry must expect slumps.

If the infrastructure is there and there is something to attract the tourists, they will be back, Keller said. He pointed out that Jamaica, which had been "dead" for four years, is now thriving.

Keller would not say how long a tourist industry could weather a slump, nor, in view of the unpredictability of the political situation, could he guess how long Israel's low period would last. But he added that Jerusalem would always be an attraction, as would Israel's sun and sea.

Tunik favours earlier view of projects

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — State Comptroller Yitzhak Tunik believes his office should weigh the pros and the cons of big national economic projects at their inception "to prevent waste of resources by undertaking ventures which cannot be properly financed."

Speaking at the Rotary Club here yesterday, Tunik observed that money spent on badly prepared pro-

jects helped to increase inflation. However, Tunik noted, the comptroller at present can only form an opinion on the conduct of enterprises already in motion.

One of the basic difficulties, Tunik added, is that a mayor may promise anything he wants without being able to control the flow of income to the city chest. The democratic principle of "no taxation without representation" is thus impaired, Tunik said.

Syria reportedly preparing to pull out

By VINCENT SCHODOLSKI
UPI Beirut Bureau Chief

DAMASCUS. — Shaken by its losses in Lebanon and convinced that there is no support in Moscow for further military exploits, Syria appears ready to pull all its forces out of Lebanon to avoid further clashes with the Israelis, diplomatic sources said.

While there have been no public announcements of this, there are signs the Syrians are anxious to leave Lebanon, the diplomats said, but are waiting for a politically acceptable way out.

At the moment, western military analysts estimate that there are about 35,000 to 40,000 Syrian regulars in Lebanon, mainly in the Bekaa Valley, and about 6,000 PLO men there.

They say elements of six Syrian divisions are committed to Lebanon

at the moment, a situation that has left the country thin in other areas.

"They have put practically every egg they have in the Bekaa basket," one western military analyst said.

While most of the Syrian units are in central and eastern parts of the valley, the analysts say there are special forces in the northern areas of Lebanon near Tripoli, as well as Syrian-backed Palestinians in the Saik'a organization.

President Hafez Assad "has dropped the defences around Damascus very low," a western diplomat said. "I can't really see how he can draw them down any more."

The Syrian losses during the summer were most dramatic in the air, where Israel knocked out 88 Syrian MiG fighters. These figures are generally supported by Arab and western diplomats here, who estimate that approximately 1,000 Syrian soldiers were killed and

about 2,000 wounded in the battles that peaked in June.

The Syrians admit to the loss of 400 tanks and armoured vehicles, while the Israelis claim to have destroyed 600.

The Syrian military losses have been largely replaced by the Soviets, diplomats say, but both sides are unhappy with each other.

"The Syrians complain they want better equipment and the Soviets say the Syrians don't effectively use what they have already," a diplomat representing a non-aligned nation said.

Diplomatic and Syrian sources say the government is looking to U.S. envoy Philip Habib for a graceful way out of Lebanon. They suggest the Syrians may want U.S. guarantees that the Israelis won't attack Syrian territory before they will leave.

Historian sits in at Begin's office

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A member of the commission investigating the circumstances of the murder of Zionist leader Haim Arlosoroff in 1933 has resigned from that panel and has begun a sit-in strike at the Prime Minister's Office to press for a state inquiry into the Beirut massacre.

Yad Vashem historian Yoav Gelber said yesterday that he had resigned in protest over the government's refusal to properly investigate an atrocity that was committed this week, while approving a judicial committee to investigate a murder that occurred nearly 50 years ago.

Meanwhile, the daughter of Abba Ahimeir, who was tried and found not guilty of murdering Arlosoroff, announced that she had removed her support of the commission in protest.

Ze'eva Ahimeir-Davidov said Ber's refusal to approve a judicial commission on the Beirut massacre cast doubt on his pursuit of justice and truth. She also said that by doing so, Begin implied he did not believe in his own innocence.

Kurdistan Jews cancel fete during Succot

The Saharna festivities of the Kurdistan community will not be celebrated this Succot. Announcing this decision, the general secretary of the National Association of Kurdistan Jews in Israel, Haviv Shimeoni, said that the war in Lebanon, its many victims and economic stringencies make mass celebrations inappropriate.

BOARDWALK. — Work has begun on constructing a four-kilometre boardwalk along the Dead-Sea shore from Ein Bokek to Hamat Zohar.

Treasury and Bank officials meet today on economic plan

Post Economic Reporter

Top Treasury and Bank of Israel officials are due to meet today in Jerusalem at the request of Finance Minister Yoram Aridor to discuss the implementation of the government's new economic programme which was made public earlier this month.

The talks are expected to deal mainly with a cut in purchase tax on several goods and a 3 per cent reduction in employers' payments to the National Insurance Institute.

The third element of the Treasury's programme, the spreading of the Cost of Living allowance over several months through monthly partial payments, was dropped after the Histadrut refused to accept the proposal without a corresponding monthly

adjustment of income tax brackets.

Some senior Bank of Israel officials are sceptical about the desirability of slowing down the rate of devaluation of the shekel before the rate of inflation is reduced, as proposed in the programme. Bank sources say this could lead to an appreciation of the shekel, in real terms, a development which the Bank would find difficult to sustain.

Treasury sources told *The Jerusalem Post* that the manner in which the plan was made public could also be raised tomorrow. Aridor is reportedly angry that it was leaked to the press when he was in Canada. According to the sources, the Treasury believes that the Histadrut would have agreed to the spreading of C-o-L payments, had the proposal been made quietly and without publicity.

Weitz tries to overthrow WZO agenda

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Ra'anan Weitz, co-chairman of the World Zionist Organization's Settlement Department, has apologised for having issued an unsigned press release on the official stationery of the WZO spokesman's office, which stated that Weitz had "embarrassed the Zionist Executive."

In his statement, Weitz had proposed that the scheduled agenda of the 30th Zionist Congress in December — ideological debates and a survey of the work of the various departments — be scrapped. Instead, he said, it should be replaced by a discussion of fundamental problems such as the image of Israel as the centre of the Jewish people; aliyah, Jewish education and other Israel-Diaspora mat-

ters; the effect of the Palestinian problem on Israel; and reform in the Zionist movement.

Weitz admitted to *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that he had "erred" in using the spokesman stationery for his statement. The unsigned statement, which appears to have been issued by the spokesman except for its surprising title, "An Embarrassing Proposal in the Zionist Executive," was not intended to delude the press, he said.

Weitz, the Labour Party representative who co-heads the Settlement Department, charged, however, that his opinions were not being expressed fully in the spokesman's press releases. His proposal to the Executive on August 30 "received" only one sentence in the news release, he asserted.

LABOUR ALIGNMENT — Labour Party — Mapam — Citizens Rights — Youth Movements Centre (Alignment)

Mass Protest Meeting

to take place in Kikar Malchei Yisrael on Saturday, September 25 at 8 p.m.

At the meeting, the following placard slogans will be displayed. Placards bearing other slogans will be removed.

- ★ Leave Beirut — open negotiations!
- ★ The Palestinian problem cannot be solved with bombs
- ★ Leave Beirut immediately!
- ★ Begin and Sharon resign!
- ★ Begin and Sharon — The people demand your resignation
- ★ We are not the police force of the Middle East
- ★ The IDF is not an army of occupation
- ★ For Israel-Jordan-Palestinian talks
- ★ Begin and Sharon! For goodness sake go!
- ★ Realize Zionism — but not in Beirut
- ★ Begin government — morally bankrupt
- ★ Children's blood is not water
- ★ Thus passeth away the Begin government
- ★ Members of the Government! You are responsible. Go!
- ★ Begin and Sharon! What else has to happen?!
- ★ Peace for Galilee, not Beirut
- ★ IDF — Israel Defence Forces
- ★ Tell the truth — Don't be a Sharon
- ★ Those entering Beirut are responsible for what happens there

American and British press lash out at Begin

WASHINGTON. — Newspaper columnists and writers covering a wide spectrum of political opinion have come down hard on the government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin for refusing to set up a judicial inquiry commission on the Beirut massacre.

Syndicated columnist George Will, a long-time Conservative supporter of Israel, wrote that the Begin government has "revealed a narrowness of mind and bitterness of

purpose" by rejecting the creation of a commission of inquiry to investigate the massacre.

In an article on the Op-Ed page of *The Washington Post*, Will declared: "The questions are: what did Israeli officials — military and civil — know and when did they know it? And to what extent was ignorance culpable? These must be answered quickly by an Israeli commission of unimpeachable standing."

Will asserted that Israel "embodies principles with a claim to general validity, including principles of democracy. A democracy becomes corrupted when there is no penalty for failure. The essential business of democracy is the locating and enforcing of responsibility."

At the same time, *Washington Post* columnist Mary McGrory assailed the Begin government, saying its disclaimers of all responsibility in the massacres "are not merely shameful, they are absurd." McGrory continued to explain that Israeli intelligence is the best in the world and should have known what events would take place when Israel let Phalangist forces into the refugee camps.

"The Israelis know they have to save themselves from the opprobrium of nationalizing mass murder," the columnist wrote.

Author Irving Howe wrote in *The New York Times* yesterday that fundamental differences on issues as the West Bank and the Reagan peace initiative point to a "divergence within Jewish ranks."

"We are experiencing a conflict between the values of democratic conciliation and the goal of imperial domination, between the visions personified by Chaim Weizmann's liberal Zionism and Vladimir Jabotinsky's ultra-nationalist Zionism. We are in the midst of a struggle over the character of Jewish life, both in Israel and in the diaspora."

"Neither side can long remain silent. We can both try to be restrained, but after the Beirut massacre even that is hard."

British newspapers yesterday also called for an inquiry into the massacre of Palestinian refugees.

The independent *Times*, in an editorial headed "Massacre will out" said: "It may be, therefore, that the opposition in Israel will persist with its pressure to persuade the government to hold an official inquiry... they should certainly persist, and the government should hold such an inquiry."

"That question will not go away. There is too much conflict of evidence, both official and unofficial, to absolve Israel of guilt at least by association."

"The facts which have emerged are so stunning, so horrendous, so incredible, that they need to be put

in a more balanced context than has yet been made possible by Israeli equivocations and denials."

The conservative *Daily Telegraph* commented: "... Mr. Begin may think this (the Knesset vote) has saved his face, but of course it has not. The outrage in Israel is now so widespread and deep seated that only a full examination of everything that has happened during Mr. Sharon's invasion of Lebanon, and subsequent events, including the massacres, will be acceptable."

The liberal *Guardian*, in its editorial, said, in part: "... Mr. Ariel Sharon showed no sign of resigning in spite of his admission to the Knesset that it was the Israeli Defence Forces which sent the Lebanese Christian militias into the camps. (JTA, Reuter)

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REMEMBER BEIRUT!

A Jewish-Arab Protest March will take place in Tel Aviv on Saturday, Sept. 25.

Assembly point: Tel Aviv Museum, 5 p.m.

We call for

- ★ Immediate resignation of the cabinet.
 - ★ Unconditional withdrawal of the I.D.F. from Beirut and Lebanon.
 - ★ Israeli-Palestine peace.
- After the march, we shall join the demonstration in Kikar Malchei Yisrael.

The Committee Against the War in Lebanon
P.O.B. 39872, Tel Aviv



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Schmidt facing test in key state election

BONN (Reuters). — Talks to form a new centre-right West German government continued yesterday as attention shifted to a key state election which will be the first test of public opinion on the bid to overthrow Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

Schmidt has told the four million voters in the state of Hesse that every vote for his Social Democrats (SPD) on Sunday will help his campaign for an immediate general election to end the Bonn government crisis.

The vote to elect 110 deputies to the State Assembly in Wiesbaden could also decide the fate of former foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's Free Democrats (FDP), who deserted Schmidt last Friday for a pact with the conservatives.

FDP leaders met the opposition in Bonn yesterday to work out a joint economic programme, but the party's influence on future policy may depend largely on whether it survives in Hesse.

An opinion poll Wednesday showed national support for the liberals had slumped to an all-time low of 2.3 per cent since last week, not enough to win seats in Bonn or Wiesbaden.

The Hesse vote is being billed as the first round of the next general election, which the FDP has agreed

with opposition leader Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU) and the Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU) to delay until next March.

A disastrous FDP showing would further weaken Genscher's position, already under attack from left-wingers in his own party who have forced an emergency national congress next month to debate the switch to the conservatives.

The Hesse FDP's decision in June to switch to a local alliance with the CDU rocked the left-liberal Bonn coalition.

The chancellor and Genscher continued to attack each other yesterday in newspaper articles and interviews.

Saying eight out of 10 West Germans backed his call for immediate elections, Schmidt wrote in the mass circulation *Bild* Zeitung: "A serious question to Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Helmut Kohl: Is government power so much more important to you than the clear will of a large majority of our people?"

Genscher, interviewed by *Bild*, said the chancellor's language was "deeply disappointing" and once again blamed the end of the 13-year left-liberal coalition on divisions in the SPD.

30,000 Peronists march in anti-government protest

BUENOS AIRES (UPI). — Some 30,000 militant Peronist demonstrators thronged the plaza in front of the Government Palace on Wednesday in the biggest peaceful anti-government demonstration in 6½ years of military rule.

Chanting "Bread, Peace and Jobs," blue-collar workers, human rights activists and political party members marched through the streets of Buenos Aires in a major show of strength for the General Labour Confederation, a grouping of Peronist labour unions opposed to the military regime.

As Argentines and as workers, we return to this historic plaza to demand once and for all that the people's economic well-being be restored to them," shouted Confederation leader Saul Ubaldini as he was carried through the streets on the shoulders of supporters after the one-hour demonstration.

Diplomatic observers said at least 30,000 people crammed into the Plaza de Mayo — a traditional meeting place for Peronist party demonstrations — to watch Ubaldini present a representative of the military government with a seven-point list of labour grievances. The demonstration followed a nationwide work stoppage.

Ubaldini asked the government to bring the country's 148 per cent inflation under control, create public jobs, build low-cost housing, freeze the skyrocketing prices of medicine and lift restrictions on union activities.

He asked the armed forces to free prisoners detained by government decree for political reasons and reveal what happened to thousands of people who have "disappeared."

Calcutta shut down by anti-American march

CALCUTTA (UPI). — More than 200,000 people marched through the streets in an anti-American protest yesterday, chanting "Yankee money, hands off Asia" and burning a model of a neutron bomb near the U.S. Consulate.

The protest virtually shut down

India's largest city of more than seven million people and coincided with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's visit to the Soviet Union. The demonstration followed a visit by U.S. Ambassador Harry Barnes, during which he spoke of strengthening ties with India.

Khomeini tells pupils to spy on teachers

LONDON (Reuters). — Millions of Iranian students started the new academic year yesterday with a message from Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini urging students to spy on their teachers and classmates, the national news agency IRNA reported.

The ayatollah, declaring that his country would not tolerate western or eastern way of thinking, renewed calls for the expulsion of 'leftist students'.

In the past three years, Iran's clerical authorities have purged thousands of teachers and students

in a campaign under "the Islamization and purification of the educational system" programme.

The academic year was also marked by mass demonstrations in front of the former U.S. Embassy in Teheran with students shouting anti-American slogans and burning U.S. flags.

Khomeini, in a message carried on Teheran Radio, said, "Students should closely and in an unbiased manner watch the behaviour of their teachers and report the deviated teachers to the authorities."

50 policemen hurt as pro-squatters riot in Berlin

BERLIN (UPI). — Police used tear gas and water cannon to disperse 500 squatter sympathizers who rampaged through the American sector until early yesterday in the worst disorder in the western outpost since anti-Reagan demonstrations in June.

A police spokesman said 50 policemen were injured and 35 people arrested in disorders that began at about 8:30 p.m. local time, and spread to four of the six American sector boroughs.

The youths, many of them masked, in four hours of violence stoned police, erected small barricades, broke 135 windows in 50 shops, banks and businesses, damaged "several" police cars and set fire to a construction machine and construction cart, the spokesman said.

The disorder followed a rally attended by about 6,000 people to mark the death a year ago of a squatter in an American sector riot. The squatter was run over by a city bus.

Poland moves to erase Solidarity

WARSAW (Reuters). — Poland's Communist authorities, under pressure to reveal plans for reviving union activity, have indicated they are moving towards a total ban on the Solidarity free trade union, both in name and organization.

This has emerged from recent statements by senior officials implying the authorities are on the verge of writing off hope of compromise with the leadership of the suspended union, and it was reinforced by the government newspaper on Wednesday.

NEWS IN BRIEF

U.S. inflation slows
WASHINGTON (Reuters). — Lower food and petrol prices slowed U.S. consumer inflation last month as the price index rose by only 0.3 per cent, bringing the annual inflation rate for the first eight months of the year to 5.1 per cent, the government said yesterday.

Mother Teresa plans return to Lebanon

SAO PAULO, Brazil (AP). — Mother Teresa of Calcutta, the nun who won the 1979 Nobel Peace Prize, will return to Lebanon, she said here yesterday.

"Lebanon is something terrible. I am going to return soon," she said, however, that no date had been set.

Mother Teresa was in Lebanon a month ago and she took children from war-torn areas of Beirut to shelter.

Kenyan charged

NAIROBI (AP). — A Kenyan journalist was charged with treason yesterday for allegedly working for the overthrow of the government during the August 1 coup attempt here.

Otieno Makionyango, an assistant managing editor of the *Sunday Standard*, was the second civilian to appear in a magistrate's court charged with treason. However, the prosecution has not specifically linked the two with the uprising by mainly junior-ranked air force men.

So far, 49 air force personnel — of warrant officer rank or below — have been convicted by courts-martial for their roles in the coup attempt and given prison terms ranging from 10 to 25 years.

Manganese discovered

WASHINGTON (UPI). — Scientists diving to the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean in a small submarine in July discovered a mineral deposit that one researcher said looked "like a world of manganese," 3,000 metres deep.

Beneath that manganese, said Peter Rona of the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, may lie a wealth of copper, zinc and silver and possibly some gold.

Jamaican executions

KINGSTON, Jamaica (UPI). — Jamaica's government, pressing ahead with executions of 120 convicted murderers on the island's death row, will hang two more men next week.

This will bring to eight the number of convicts hanged since the beginning of September.

Nixon says Iran's shah was 'misunderstood'

NEW YORK (UPI). — The U.S. made possible the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's rise to power by withholding support for the late Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran when he needed it most, says Richard Nixon in a new book on leaders he has known.

In *Leaders*, Nixon also says that "the ayatollah's crimes against his people seemed to pain the shah personally. He was a man who had been misjudged, misunderstood and misused, and his knowledge of this was eating away at him as devastatingly as his physical illness."

"In spite of his spiritual and physical agony, he was a gracious host," said Nixon of the shah, who was dying of cancer when Nixon visited him in Mexico in 1979. "I was deeply touched when he said proudly over lunch that his son, Crown Prince Reza, had made the salad himself."

Sir Maxwell Joseph, 72

LONDON (Reuters). — British breweries and hotels tycoon Sir Maxwell Joseph, chairman of the Grand Metropolitan empire, has died at the age of 72, his company announced yesterday.

It said Sir Maxwell, whose chain took over the Intercontinental Hotels group last year, died Wednesday, but gave no further details.

Progress reported in talks on future status of Hongkong

PEKING (Reuters). — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher discussed the future of Hongkong with Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang yesterday, and British officials reported progress.

Only hours earlier, Zhao had said Peking would eventually reassert its sovereignty over the crown colony. Britain's lease on most of its territory expires in 1997.

Sources in Thatcher's party said the negotiations had got off to a useful start. "They're talking, there was good progress made. That's the main thing," one source said.

The official New China News Agency also expressed satisfaction with the talks, saying they were held in a friendly atmosphere and were useful.

Lightning kills 11 children, injures 14 in Kenya

NAIROBI (UPI). — A bolt of lightning struck a school building in the western Kenyan town of Kisumu, killing 11 schoolchildren and injuring 14 others, a police spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said two of the injured children were in serious condition in Kisumu hospital. All of the victims were between the ages of 7

and 14. The incident occurred Wednesday afternoon while classes were in session.

"When the lightning struck, two classrooms full of children were virtually thrown out of the rooms. Some landed in the courtyard," school principal Obuocha Ndege said.

LEBANON CAMPAIGN

Donors show compassion for traumatized children

THE TRAUMA OF the past week's events in and beyond Lebanon has sent such shock waves through sane-minded Israelis that one contributor to *The Jerusalem Post's* Lebanon Campaign marked her contribution "for Palestinian refugees."

Christian aid groups working in Lebanon have reported on the war's psychological effects on young children. Third and fourth grade pupils in art classes are drawing tanks, planes and guns, surrounded by blood spattered bodies. The scenes are deeply rooted in their conscious and sub-conscious thoughts. Even if peace comes to Lebanon, the nightmare memories which haunt these youngsters are not likely to fade. For children who survived the massacre in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, the nightmare is even more horrific.

The children of Lebanon have witnessed too much brutality and killing in their young lives. It is up to people with conscience to prove to them that the world can be a better and brighter place.

Donations received this week for the Lebanon Campaign amounted to \$12,756.03, bringing the total to \$1,296,342.34.

Donors were:

\$140 Beth Weiner, Highland Park, N.J.
\$100 Frank and Jean Weichman, Alberta, Canada.
\$50 Martha Raider, Sharon, MA.
\$35 Stephen Short, Ventura, CA.
\$5,000 Anonymous, Jerusalem.
\$25 Arthur and Patricia Freyman, Moore, OK.
\$20 D.S., British Columbia, Canada.
\$500 Hannah Teitel, Tel Aviv.
\$10 Nicole J. Waring, Sheffield, England.
\$500 Anonymous, Kew-Forest, Queens, N.Y.
\$360 Judith and Charles Greenbaum, Jerusalem.
\$7.50 Jeanne Fadala, Alpine, N.Y.

FEW VETERAN readers of *The Jerusalem Post* can remember a period in which the Toy Fund did not exist. Now in its 34th successive year, the Toy Fund is virtually an institution and has brought joy and happiness to tens of thousands of children in government institutions and foster care.



The main thrust of the Toy Fund drive is in the two to three months preceding Hanukkah and Christmas, to provide toys and games for children who might not otherwise have gifts on these festive occasions. But requests from social workers come in throughout the year. A community centre in a new neighbourhood does not have sufficient budget for toys and games to keep children amused; or a long-term community centre in a poor area needs to supplement existing equipment.

All these requests are carefully examined and, where there is a genuine need, *The Jerusalem Post* Toy Fund comes to the rescue. In underprivileged districts, where there is a danger of children taking to the streets unless community centres can offer sufficient attractions to maintain their attendance, this is an essential task.

The 34th annual Toy Fund drive has been a little slow in getting underway. Part of the reason is the Jewish High Holy Days season, during which most Hebrew and religious schools in diaspora communities are closed. They will no doubt begin making their classroom collections straight after Succot.

In addition to the Toy Fund and Forsake Me Not, *The Jerusalem Post* operates the Tsafia Fund, which helps former wards of the state gain some measure of independence after leaving government care. Most of them have no assets, although they do have certain skills which they learned at school, and they need financial assistance which is not available from any other source.

With the latest contributions of \$4,159, the Toy Fund stands at \$9,821.59.

Toy Fund donors included:

Who Won the War in Lebanon?

Yasser Arafat got a hero's send-off. Philip Habib got a Medal of Honor. Bashir Jemayel was elected President — then assassinated. The Pope invited Arafat to Rome. Israel got a bad press (and TV).

Israeli military planning may have been adequate or even superb, but there appears to have been no concurrent planning with respect to public relations and media coverage.

Recently, it was announced that the second sequel to the film, *Jaws*, was to be shot in 3D, and entitled *Jaws IIID*. Not one foot of the film exists, only the shooting script, but the advertising campaign is complete, and the coming attractions film is ready to go into the cinemas. If film is handled in this way, where the only risk is money, how much more important are public relations and the media, when lives are at stake?

US public opinion was unprepared, and a negative shift, against Israel, was inevitable. We urge the immediate creation of an Office of Special Counsel, to remedy such oversights and defects. Help avoid such ongoing public-relations disasters. Join us and write to:

Prime Minister Begin — Special Counsel USA
Kiryat Ben-Gurion
Jerusalem.

(Interested persons and groups are urged to sponsor reprints of this ad in Hebrew-language papers.)

Committee of Concerned Americans
P.O.B. 403, Herzliya Bet

Honduran rebels release 21 more hostages

SAN PEDRO SULA, Honduras (UPI). — Leftist rebels holding scores of businessmen and senior government officials released 21 hostages on Wednesday, one day after President Roberto Suazo Cordova set a week-end deadline to end the crisis.

The rebels, who seized the building last Friday in a blaze of gunfire, still held 61 hostages.

"We're okay and happy," one of the businessmen shouted to reporters from the window of a school bus that carried the hostages

from the San Pedro Sula chamber of commerce and industry.

The businessmen were taken to army headquarters for a debriefing, an army spokesman said. He said the captured ministers of economics and finance and the head of the central bank were not among those freed.

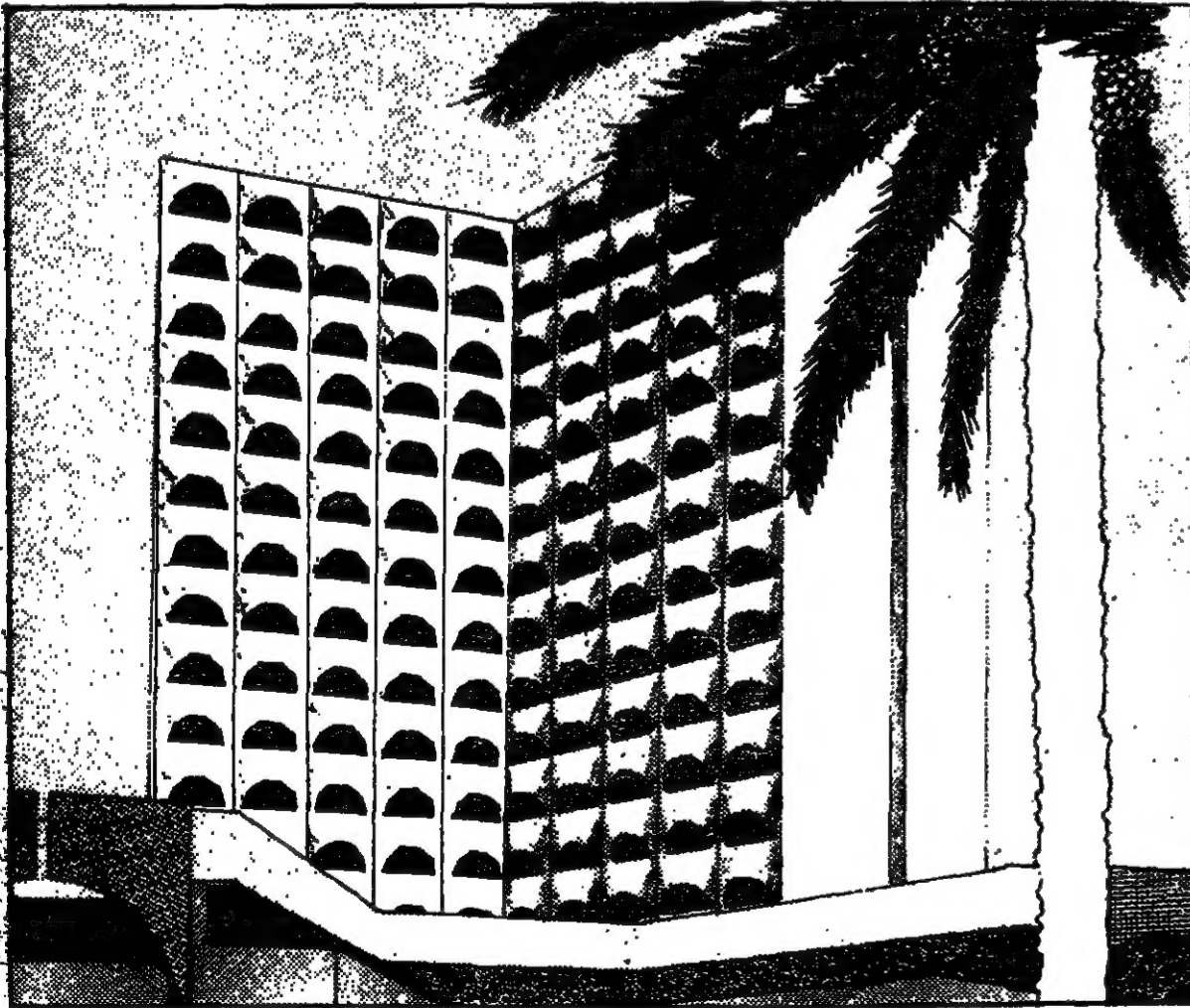
One Western diplomat earlier predicted the guerrillas soon may free everyone except the three government officials and a handful of the most important executives.

A senior government official announced the leftist guerrillas had

modified their demands, saying U.S. military advisers can remain in Honduras and Suazo Cordova's anti-terrorist decree does not have to be revoked.

The key guerrilla demand for the release of political prisoners allegedly jailed by Honduras remains, the official said.

The eight to 10 guerrillas who stormed the chamber building in a hail of automatic weapons fire last Friday, now have freed a total of 41 hostages, while three others have escaped.



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מכירת הארץ

FORMER chief of military intelligence Aharon Yariv is not one of those who believe that only in cases of self-defence is it legitimate for Israel to go to war.

"A threat to Israel's security existed in Lebanon, even if it was not imminent and did not endanger our existence," says Yariv. "Israel was justified in fighting to remove the threat. But in such a case the military gains must be exploited to serve the political ends of peace. And this has not yet happened."

Aluf (res.) Yariv currently heads the centre for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University. In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* this week, he spoke about the war, its background and its outcome.

"Based in its mini-state in Beirut and South Lebanon," Yariv explained, "the PLO had already acquired an important capability for harassment and attrition against Israel. It possessed large amounts of long-range artillery and a great quantity of ammunition. In July 1981 and in the few days before the war, it demonstrated how easily it could hurt our population centres along the northern border."

"Our air force couldn't deal very effectively against this capability, as we saw last July. The PLO's Katyusha rocket launchers were especially easy to hide in orchards or in bunkers, and were easily deployed all across Southern Lebanon."

"This did not constitute a threat to Israel's existence, but it could have caused serious harm to our settlements, and the capability in itself could have been converted into pressure to strengthen the PLO's political position."

"This was not the only dimension of the PLO threat," Yariv stressed. "Even though they had already acquired the harassment capability, they were still interested in preserving the cease-fire in order to build up two other sources of military power."

The PLO's interpretation of the cease-fire differed from Israel's. They held that it applied only to actions across the Lebanese border into Israel, not to actions launched against Israeli targets elsewhere.

YARIV paused to consult some notes on the subject, then methodically described the state of the PLO forces in Lebanon before the war.

"The Israeli attack caught the PLO in a transition period. They had lost the flexibility inherent in a terrorist-guerrilla type of organization, but they had not yet managed to develop conventional military formations. Their training had improved, and the Fa'izah had units organized in battalions and brigades. The smaller groups in the PLO had units only up to battalion level. They had also improved their coordination and command."

"Building up a regular army would have given the PLO two extra capabilities. First, it would have provided a defensive strength that could have made it much more difficult in a year or two for Israel to destroy their military base in Lebanon. They wanted to be in a position to be able to slow down an Israeli attack, which would enable other Arab forces to come to their aid and permit international pressure to build up against Israel."

"Second, their regular forces could have been used to improve their position vis-à-vis the Christians, and to play an auxiliary role in an Arab offensive against Israel. And there are grounds to believe that Syria had planned an offensive to be launched within a year or two."

"The PLO's base has now been

wiped out, and the Syrian offensive postponed, although for how long is hard to say. The PLO's loss of its state-within-a-state and its capital within-a-capital is irreplaceable. Nowhere else can the PLO set up an international centre like they had in Beirut, or can they find a similar base of operations adjacent to Israel. The freedom of action they had in Lebanon can't be duplicated anywhere else. Their territorial base gave them a good part of their political strength."

DESPITE the astonishment that was expressed over the size of the PLO arsenal discovered during the war, Yariv does not think there was a serious gap in our intelligence estimates of what the PLO possessed.

"There were no surprises in the number of weapons or in the types of weapons systems found, but we were surprised at the enormous amounts of ammunition discovered."

"This can be explained by the fact that money was no object for the PLO and they had a willing supplier in the Soviet Union. Also, in developing a capacity for attrition, they probably did not want to be dependent on supply lines exposed to Israeli air attacks."

"The ammunition and weapons were there to be used by the PLO, he asserted, and there was no pre-positioning for other forces, such as Cubans, as some have speculated."

COULD PEACE for Israel's northern border have been assured had Israel's forces stopped after advancing 40 kilometres into Lebanon?

"In order to ensure as much as possible that the PLO not return to Southern Lebanon, it was necessary to get them out of Beirut. I know in fact that going to Beirut was included in the original military plan."

But the confusion created over what appeared to be the expanding goals of the operation is another matter. "I don't know what the considerations of the prime minister and the defence minister were in publicly defining the operation's goals. But they probably saw that it was in the government's interest to speak of only 40 kilometres. They were probably not sure of the international reaction to the goal of going on to Beirut to expel the PLO. I think it was their prerogative not to declare to the final objectives that they had in mind from the beginning."

"In that case maybe it would have been preferable not to insist so loudly and so strongly on the 40 kilometres limit. Diplomatic language is very flexible and permits all kinds of formulations. The argument used later to justify our advance to Beirut — that the other side violated the cease-fire — is not strong enough to significantly weaken the previous emphasis put on 40 kilometres."

"It was also necessary to make a significant advance into the Bekaa Valley, although this was within the 40 kilometres line, and to get control of a segment of the Beirut-Damascus road. These positions give us a favourable negotiating posture in our efforts to get the Syrians and the PLO to withdraw from Lebanon. From all points of view, stopping at 40 kilometres would have caused us problems later."

The fact that Yariv's own views diverge from the Labour Party position that the operation could have been limited, creates no problems for him.

But advancing to Beirut involved Israel in the morass of Lebanese

AHARON YARIV discusses the Lebanese war with *The Jerusalem Post's* Charles Hoffman.

Unfinished business



politics and feuds. "There was no way to avoid this. The link-up with the Christian forces outside of Beirut enabled us to encircle the city and get the PLO out, and it also strengthened the Christian position in Lebanon, in which we have a long-range interest."

He added ruefully: "We always had an idea how complicated Lebanese politics are. Now we really know. It is not within our power to establish a strong central government. But we have created circumstances that will enable the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, and the re-establishment of a central Lebanese authority. How strong and how stable is another question. Our influence in this area is limited."

AT THE OUTSET of the war government spokesmen insisted that Israel wished to avoid a clash with the Syrians, although a glance at the map showed that their forces were deployed within the 40 kilometres limit. Wasn't a clash with the Syrians inevitable, inherent even in the limited goals of the war?

"You must remember that the major clashes with the Syrians took place towards the end of the first week of fighting, from about mid-week Wednesday to Friday at noon. Through indirect contacts with the Syrians in the first days of the fighting, conducted through the U.S., we tried to get them to remove

the PLO from the 40 kilometre zone. When the Syrians said they couldn't do it, the clash became inevitable."

"It was a calculated risk to take on the Syrians, but steps were taken to forestall a Syrian attempt to widen the war. Our large build-up of forces on the Golan Heights deterred them from waging war on two fronts."

"The 48 hours of fighting with the Syrians, mostly in the Bekaa area, showed them they have two major problems: serious inferiority in the air and a lack of reliable air defences. These two factors will prevent them in the near future from initiating a war of attrition. There might be limited actions against the Syrians, like the day in late July when we opened fire on their positions for several hours. But I think it is possible to negotiate a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon without another major clash."

"The Syrians are tough negotiators, and might fail to prevent PLO actions from behind their lines against us, using this pressure as a negotiating card. But I believe that basically they are prepared to negotiate a withdrawal."

ONE OF THE MOST costly aspects of the war, in terms of Israel's external image and internal solidarity, was what Yariv calls the "drama of Beirut."

"In the first stage of the encirclement of Beirut, the PLO was in a very difficult position, which was reflected by rumours that Arafat had sought asylum in foreign embassies. But then the Saudis let the PLO understand that the U.S. would not allow Israel to move into West Beirut. This enabled them to play for time, and PLO Arafat on the nightly news programmes across the Western world."

"If we had pursued them into West Beirut right after the first week of the fighting, they still would have put up a fight, and the international pressure on us would have been intense. This would have taken a heavy casualty toll among our forces and among civilians there. In retrospect, perhaps it would have been less painful to keep going, but the price we would have paid is not clear."

Did we have an understanding with the Phalangists that they would move in to finish off the PLO?

"I really don't know," said Yariv, but it is possible that there was such an understanding. From what I saw of the Phalangists, though, they couldn't have done the job, even if they had all the time they needed, which was unlikely."

"What finally broke the PLO's resistance to evacuation was a combination of our military pounding and political pressure from the U.S., the Lebanese and other Arab states. The bombing of the PLO strongholds had a role in this, but it is my impression that the force used was not always proportional to our aims, especially on the last two days of bombing just before an agreement was obtained. Habib himself said that even though our military pressure was the conclusive factor, it was disproportionate."

"During the first three weeks of August, when this was happening, I was in the U.S. and Canada on a lecture tour. The toughest questions put to me during this time concerned the bombing on these two days."

WASN'T it a mistake not to have done all we could during the siege of West Beirut to kill the leaders of the PLO, especially Arafat?

The question provoked some discomfort, and Yariv answered obligingly.

"It is well known that the targets of the bombing included the headquarters of the various PLO groups. And it is also true that the computerized equipment on our fighter aircraft permit precision bombing from altitudes beyond the range of anti-aircraft fire. Killing the PLO leaders would have made its position more difficult."

Moving into West Beirut last week amid the uncertainty and confusion following the assassination of Bashir Jemayel was a step that many Israelis, including some of Yariv's fellow Labourites, feel was unwarranted.

His view is that "under the circumstances prevailing then, there were definitely enough grounds for moving in, although I don't know what all the government's considerations were in taking this step. But if you decide to go in to uproot the remnants of the PLO and their leftist allies and to protect the civilians, then you must take all possibilities into consideration. You must make sure that you control the situation and are not surprised by such horrendous events as those of last weekend."

Yariv agreed that perhaps one reason why the government took this step was the unreliability of the Lebanese army. He doubted

whether the Lebanese army could have done the job under those conditions. "The Lebanese army moves slowly and hesitantly and is subject to political control too. It is not a very effective force."

He was reluctant to draw conclusions about the IDF's or the defence minister's role in allowing the Phalangist forces into the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps.

"I have not yet heard a satisfactory explanation of exactly what happened or how it happened. Yet it is clear that such a decision could not have been taken by a local commander on the scene, or even by the commander of the entire Beirut area. There were military and political implications to the decision to let them into the camps."

"We should have been sceptical about the military role the Phalangist could play and the way they would carry it out, especially after the murder of their leader. Earlier in the war, their role in fighting the terrorists in Beirut was quite limited. But I would like to emphasize that the entire episode is still not clear to me."

A full inquiry of the massacre is necessary, he stressed, and should be carried out by an independent body.

SERIOUS QUESTIONS were raised during all stages of the war about the cabinet's ability to control military actions. In the first week of the war at least, didn't the rapid movement of Israel's immense military machine make it difficult for the cabinet to engage in fine-tuning?

Yariv was quick to reject this notion. "With modern communications equipment and the short distances involved, there was no military reason why the cabinet could not control events. I don't know how things were presented to the cabinet. But I do know, from serving in the Northern Command headquarters during the first week of the war, that no major military step was taken without cabinet approval. The chief-of-staff held up several actions, such as the link-up with the Christians and the advance beyond 40 kilometres, until the cabinet gave its okay."

Yariv's link with *hasbara* is indelibly etched on the minds of all those who watched him on television during the Yom Kippur War, attempting to present an accurate and orderly account of the awesome events. He revived this role to some extent in this war, appearing in uniform as the TV's military commentator, and later serving with the IDF spokesman. And he has emphatic opinions about our *hasbara* failures in this war.

"During the first two weeks we lost valuable time in competing with the version of the fighting and its aftermath put out by the enemy, and in journalism timing is of the utmost importance. We should have brought in local and foreign correspondents as quickly as possible, within the first few days, and briefed them as much as possible on the scene."

"Information about the extent of civilian casualties and damage that was available at the time was not brought to their attention. I don't understand why this happened, why so much ground in the *hasbara* battle was lost so quickly to the other side. Even our diplomatic representatives abroad lacked sufficient information to work with."

"Even during the drama of Beirut, when we couldn't control reports coming from West Beirut, we could have made a better effort. My experience abroad during most of August helped me realize this."

war and its outcome. "The PLO and Syria still occupy large parts of Lebanon and sporadic fighting continues," he pointed out. But an assessment of specific points can be made.

"Politically, the weakness and fragmentation of the Arab world have been exposed, and the U.S. position in the Middle East has been strengthened. A situation has been created that enables the re-establishment of a central Lebanese authority (not necessarily a 'strong' one), which is in our interests."

"Now what has not been achieved, and could not have been achieved, is the destruction of the PLO, the elimination of terrorism and a solution to the Palestinian problem. If the government sees the outcome of the war as strengthening Israel's control over the occupied territories, then it is mistaken — as the Reagan plan clearly shows. This should not have been an aim of the war."

"The Palestinian problem has now been placed at the top of the international agenda, due in part to the drama of Beirut and the massacre, but also because the government failed to follow through quickly on the military gains of the war with a new initiative on autonomy. An offer of 'full autonomy' to the inhabitants of the territories should have been made even before the PLO evacuation of Beirut."

"Progress towards a solution of the Palestinian problem should have been made easier by the outcome of the war. Now, in part because there was no political initiative, the PLO is stronger politically. A moderate Arab leadership in the territories not tied to the PLO could have been encouraged by such a move, but now this is less likely."

"Full autonomy means granting the residents of the West Bank and Gaza everything except independence and control over internal and external security, with provisions to safeguard our water resources and existing Jewish settlements. The Reagan plan offers an opportunity to move in the right direction on the Palestinian issue."

"But now," Yariv concluded sombrely, "we have paid a price in blood, and the PLO has been strengthened; our image abroad has been badly damaged; and our national consensus over the necessity of going to war has been badly shaken. Israel's achievement in the war are not complete without an appropriate political exploitation of the military gains. Only a political initiative to solve the Palestinian problem would completely justify the war both strategically and morally."

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YARIV SAID it was still too early to draw up a balance sheet of the

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ISRAEL is no longer "the winning side in Lebanon," at least in the eyes of most Lebanese. That is the most important result of the assassination of Bashir Jemayel and the election of his brother Amin, in the view of Lebanese specialist Yosef Olmert.

"What we lost in Lebanon," Olmert told *The Post* on Wednesday, "was the psychological element, which I would call the 'winning-side syndrome'."

"Until the assassination of Bashir, there was a feeling among the Lebanese — even among the Moslems — that we Israelis were all-powerful, that we could do anything. Israel appeared to have achieved all of its aims, fulfilled its Grand Design. But three sudden developments — the Reagan initiative, the assassination of Bashir, and the election of Amin — which the Lebanese perceived as contrary to Israel's plans — shattered the almost mystic belief that Israel could get whatever it wanted. To the Lebanese, it no longer appeared that America was in Israel's pocket, but that the opposite might be true."

Olmert, a researcher in Lebanese and Syrian affairs at Tel Aviv University's Shiloah Institute, says the Lebanese now apparently feel "Israel's successes have come to an end, that Israel can be resisted. That is far more important than the election of Amin Jemayel *per se*."

The death of Bashir Jemayel "means that we no longer have our man in Lebanon," Olmert says. And there is now no chance at all of concluding a peace treaty. What remains is the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, to which Amin Jemayel is certain to agree, and some kind of security arrangement for Israel in the south of the country, to which the new president has no choice but to consent.

OLMERT, 32, has gained prominence in recent months as a commentator on Lebanese affairs. He has also proved a good source of up-to-date information on the troubled country with its melange of sectarian and ideological rivalries, its ever-so-free economy and its penchant for blood-letting.

He has an explanation for the apparently mystifying switch to Amin's side of the same Moslem politicians who had bitterly opposed brother Bashir. To the outsider it is little less than amazing that this could happen despite the clear fact that Phalangist forces played a major, if not an exclusive, role in the Shatilla-Sabra massacres. It is equally difficult to comprehend

YOSEF OLMERT tells *The Post's* David Richardson how the killing of Bashir Jemayel and the succession of his brother Amin has affected Lebanese attitudes towards Israel.

ALL THE KING'S HORSES...

how Amin got not only a quorum in the Parliament, but a sweeping majority for his election.

"Amin was elected president because there was a deal between him and the Moslem leadership of West Beirut," says Olmert. "They know that the Phalangists were responsible for the massacre, but they understood that this was a golden opportunity for them to get two birds with one stone. They could increase the political pressure on Israel — particularly since the invasion of West Beirut frightened them. Secondly, by almost shamelessly ignoring Phalangist responsibility, they could demand and receive undertakings from Amin about their own political future as well as the pursuit of policies they urge — less contact with Israel and less hostility to the Syrians."

Olmert suspects that the Moslems may have extracted promises about the future of Major Sa'ad Haddad and his militia in the south. Haddad's name has deliberately been associated with the massacre. Olmert contends, in order to increase American pressure, possibly to exclude the major from any future solution in the southern part of the country.

THE FORMULATION of a deal immediately after the massacre was almost to be expected in the Lebanese context, Olmert says. The Lebanese have always looked for a way to make political use of such tragedies in the past. And Phalangist responsibility for the deaths of many hundreds of Palestinians has become a counter which the Moslems will always hold against

the new president. Their pact with Amin, Olmert contends, is no more than a tactical matching of interests. The fact that the massacre was of Palestinians rather than Lebanese Moslems frees the Moslem leaders from the obligation of revenge. That has been left to the PLO.

According to Olmert and most other Lebanese experts, little is known of Amin Jemayel's politics — except that his orientation has always been less towards Israel than was that of Bashir.

That kind of division in a single family is not unusual in Lebanese politics. Olmert points out that sons in prominent families often endorse different, even contradictory, policies to keep open as many options as possible. Still, fidelity to the family is of the utmost importance, Olmert is careful to emphasize.

As an example, Olmert cites the case of the two sons of ex-president Camille Chamoun. One brother, Dori, has been active in the Phalangist-dominated Lebanese Forces; the other, Danny, who fled to Europe some years ago after some of his backers were killed, takes a different line from his father and brother.

Amin Jemayel has been active in politics for more than a decade. In 1970, when he was 28, he was elected to the Lebanese Parliament, representing the Maten district in the northern part of the country. But he never had strong links with the military arm of the Kataeb, as the Phalangist like to be known. That role was reserved for Bashir, the younger son of Pierre Jemayel.

The support of the Lebanese Forces for Amin is a political loyalty, Olmert says, as distinct

from the personal loyalty the same people had for Bashir. That personal tie was hardened by shared battle experience with the Lebanese Forces' commander during eight years of civil war. The commanders of today's Phalange and Lebanese Forces are still Bashir's people, and it is they who have been asking Israel not to pressure the new president so that they can ensure he does not turn away from Israel.

ANOTHER EFFECT of the succession of Amin is that the influence of Pierre Jemayel has been enhanced, Olmert says. "This is both because the father is less pro-Israel and more Arab-oriented than Bashir was. That draws him closer to Amin's outlook." Amin also has to lean on his father because of his "relatively weaker" image, Olmert continues.

When Jemayel père founded the Phalange in 1936, he was little more than a local leader from his mountain village of Bilkfaya. His personal and political style was not accepted by the Maronite aristocratic families of the time — the Eddes, the Khourys and the Chamouns.

Pierre Jemayel first reached Parliament only in 1960, in the aftermath of the civil war which cost Camille Chamoun his presidency. As a minister he introduced reforms which served the interests of his middle-class Maronite electorate. But the Phalange's power base only began to expand during the civil war which started in 1976. After the death of Kataeb militia leader William Hawi, Bashir Jemayel took over. He turned the Phalange into a potent military — and eventually a political — force, a growth which inevitably led to his election as president last month. In Olmert's view, that was what gave all of the Jemayels their final stamp of Lebanese political legitimacy.

THE TERM Phalange was abandoned by the Jemayel party in 1949, because of the name's fascist associations. For a while, members of the party were called Social Democrats. But that title did not seem to catch on, and the name Kataeb has been for three decades the official designation for the party. The militia goes by the name Force Libanaise.

Nevertheless, the name Phalange has remained in popular parlance. So much so that Olmert, whose doctoral dissertation took him through the maze of Levantine politics in the Forties, still refers to them constantly by this name.



Pierre Jemayel with son Amin photographed during the Lebanese Civil War in 1976. (Leroy/Gamma)

As Olmert sees it, Israel has only one credible option left in Lebanon — to at least threaten to install Major Haddad as the over-all commander in the southern part of the country.

The threat of freezing negotiations over the withdrawal of forces and the *de facto* division of Lebanon between Syria and Israel is not really practical for internal Israeli reasons, Olmert argues. It would

mean maintaining troops in Lebanon and would open Israel up to a localized war of attrition with the Syrians.

But by cutting off southern Lebanon from the rest of the country and giving Haddad control of the area, Israel could pressure Amin Jemayel and irritate the government he is forming.

Haddad's militia is the only militia that can still challenge the

Phalange forces and "Amin knows that with Haddad installed at the Aweil River or even further north, he has Arik Sharon in disguise on the outskirts of Beirut," Olmert says.

In the light of the massacre of the Palestinians and the growing Israeli discomfort with any Lebanese involvement, it seems to this reporter that even that option loses some of its credibility.

TRAGEDY OF BEIRUT

We grieve for the victims of Beirut. We believe that the Begin-Sharon government must accept a share of responsibility for the massacre. By allowing the right-wing Christian gunmen to enter the Sabra and Shatilla camps, the Israeli authorities helped prepare the ground for what followed.

Our commitment to Israel remains undiminished we applaud President Navon's proposal for an impartial investigation of the massacre and express our shock that Prime Minister Begin has thus far rejected this proposal.

All of these events confirm the position of Peace Now on the war in Lebanon, a war that has resulted in heavy casualties, political confusion and moral shame. The security of Israel can finally be achieved only through negotiations for a peaceful solution of the Palestinian problem.

Peace Now, the Labor-Mapam-CRM-Alignment, and Shinui Party have called for Israelis to come together on Saturday night in a demonstration to repudiate the Begin-Sharon policies and to reaffirm their devotion to peace. We stand with them.

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Mimi Alperin, New York
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THE FIASCO IN BEIRUT

By ABBA EBAN



Ariel Sharon addressing the Knesset on Wednesday. (Harati)

WHAT MOST people call "criticism of the prime minister" is described by Mr. Begin as a "blood-bath" against "the State, of the Jews." In his view, the blood-bath in Beirut was merely a fight of "goyim against goyim," involving Israel no more than other gentle wars, as in El Salvador or Iran-Iraq.

This ridiculous and callous frame of mind goes far to explain why Mr. Begin is psychologically unfit to bear the responsibility which is clearly weighing down upon him. By the "Jew-goy" context he evades his own responsibility and flees into the world of our people's ancient martyrdom — the world in which Jews were accused of acts that they had never heard of, let alone performed.

There is no "blood-bath" at issue in this case. We are speaking of events that have not only occurred but which resound with terrible reverberation across the world and, probably, across history.

The facts are simple: A hideous pogrom has been perpetrated with fearful death and torment of innocent people in a place where the Israel Government asserted its responsibility for the maintenance of order and the "avoidance of bloodshed." The murderers could not have reached their victims but for the Israel Government's decision to allow them through Israeli army lines.

They did their grisly work, with the accompanying shots and screams, in close proximity to Israeli forces, while no Israeli hand was stretched out for deliverance or compassion. The chief of staff proclaims that he had no idea of what was going on less than 200 metres from his military positions and did not "assume" that the murderers would do anything unseemly or brutal.

The Israeli people reacts to this undignified evasion with scepticism and revulsion. Mr. Begin fights hard against an inquiry for the sole purpose of sheltering himself from criticism. It is the most unworthy hour in his long and stormy career.

This marks a climax in the fiasco known as the Beirut war. I use that phrase in contradistinction to the Galilee war which ended in triumph on June 12. If the government had accepted the opposition's advice to content itself with that result, the national fortunes would stand high today and hundreds of dead and

wounded Israelis would be alive and well.

But Mr. Begin and Mr. Sharon were never particularly interested in Galilee. Their minds were bent on higher goals. They had a whole "conception" which, for all its absurdity, was accepted by many people of rational mind under the hypnotic influence of deference to leadership.

The conception has been narrated many times: The expulsion of the PLO from Beirut would be a turning point leading to a "new era." The PLO would be eliminated as a military and political force. Palestinians in the West Bank, freed from intimidation, would accept Mr. Begin's parsimonious "autonomy" proposals and give up any early hope of Arab independence. A stable government would be established in Lebanon and a president, elected under the eyes of Israeli troops, would sign a peace treaty with Mr. Begin by "the

end of the year." The United States, grateful for the strategic aid of Israel, which "does more for American security than America does for Israeli security," would leave the contentious Palestine issue alone.

The disquieting thing about this grotesque scenario is that many Israelis and some American journalists swallowed it whole. To my regret, there were even a few members of the Labour Party who were hypnotized by the Begin and Sharon "successes" and advised their colleagues to join the bandwagon. The main body of our party kept its head and insisted on rejecting any approach to Beirut, north, south, east or west.

When the PLO (or some of them) left Beirut for Damascus with all flags flying, Messrs. Begin and Sharon poured forth a torrent of rhetorical euphoria. They spoke of a stunning victory, of a drastic

change in the regional balance, of a transformation of the global equilibrium in favour of the West, of peace that would endure for 40 years, of the imminent second peace treaty, of the Israeli-Egyptian-Lebanese peace triangle that would be the foundation of the new epoch of harmony, of an Israel emerging from its "ghetto" into a broad regional involvement — in short, of gains so vast that they were worth all the dead and wounded on the Israeli side and the dark memories of Beirut's citizens killed and maimed amidst the devastation of their city and the condemnation of Israel in world opinion.

The opposition's tenacious insistence that Beirut was not worth a single Israeli soldier's life went unheard in the intellectual wilderness of mid-August.

There is no "new era" today. An ascendant PLO celebrates its diplomatic and public victories. For the first time in its history, Israel has no affirmative dialogue with a single government anywhere in the world. The relationship with the United

States has been weakened by the decisions and the rhetorical excesses of Mr. Begin.

The Egyptian peace treaty is virtually suspended and Egyptian opinion has retreated from its spirit and atmosphere. The national mood is dark. Amid the wreckage of their dreams and the collapse of their fantasies, Mr. Begin and Mr. Sharon have only one thought: how to escape the perils of inquiry or the controls of parliamentary vigilance.

There is no escape except through the courage of confession and humility. Two of the least humble men who have ever walked the earth seem incapable of the exercise. But they are not private men; their hubris involves us all.

From thousands of homes and, alas, hundreds of graves, the cry goes out to them to liberate our nation from their grip. The encounter with Beirut, now coming to an end, should be recognized for what it is: the most deadly failure in Israel's modern history.

It was predictable and even predicted. Those who nourished the fantasy must pay the simple price of atonement. At the very least, they must not be their own judges. The call for objective inquiry is irresistible, and it is going to prevail. Why not accept it now?

A HOLLOW ECONOMIC THREAT

By AVI TEMKIN

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S peace initiative, Israel's refusal to bend its policies and the pogrom in West Beirut have given rise to renewed talk of U.S. pressure on Israel to bring it back to the path of "realistic" foreign policies.

Most of the observers who raise this possibility base themselves on a very common image of Israel, that of a military power and an economic cripple. Indeed, this *mechaduke Shimshon* image of a feeble Samson, to quote Levi Eshkol, has more than one politician in the world thinking that only pressure from the U.S. could bring Israel back to its senses.

What kind of pressures could the Reagan administration use should it decide to twist Israel's arm? If we limit ourselves to possible economic pressures, it would appear that in the short term, i.e. some months during which the Reagan initiative and the Arab resolutions of the Fez summit could be pushed forward, potential American leverage is rather limited.

It could be argued that Israel's large external debt is the one point of vulnerability to external pressures. This debt amounted, at the end of last March, to some \$18.4 billion, one of the world's largest debts on a per capita basis.

Israel's vulnerability, however, is not indicated by the absolute size of its foreign obligations, but rather by the structure of this debt. What part is due to be paid this year? What part of the foreign debt is long-term, and what part short-term? To whom are we in debt and how large are the obligations of the public sector? These are the relevant questions.

A recent payments crisis has caused countries such as Mexico, Poland, Bolivia and others to "go bankrupt." It was caused mainly by the size of their short-term debt, representing some 50 per cent of their total liabilities. Most of these

countries' creditors are international commercial banks, and their capabilities of repaying their debts were severely harmed by the drop in prices of the agricultural and mineral goods they export.

A look at statistics will show how far Israel is from this position. Only 13 per cent of its debt, some \$2.4b., is short-term. Three quarters of Israel's foreign obligations are long-term, and their repayment will be spread over a considerable number of years. The remaining liabilities, some 13 per cent, are middle-term credits.

Thus the leverage of the Reagan administration is rather limited. Of the total \$2.4b. short-term obligations, only \$27 million, about 1 per cent of the total, are owed by Israel's public sector, i.e. by the government.

The bulk of the short-term debt consists of suppliers' credits to Israeli importers, including oil importers. This means that the size of this debt is directly linked to the amount of the country's imports, and private foreign exporters, eager to "expand sales," and not likely to respond to U.S. efforts to control their transactions with Israel.

As for Israel's obligations to international commercial banks, the statistics show a rather surprising fact. If we consider the assets that the public and private sectors hold in these banks, some \$9b., and we match them with the corresponding liabilities figure, some \$6b., then Israel is left in a creditor position in relation to those foreign banks.

To convey the significance of these figures, one could say that the ratio of Israel's assets to its liabilities, vis-a-vis foreign commercial

banks, is close to that of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

DURING the years of the state's existence, Israel's governments have used grants and long-term credits from the U.S. and world Jewry to finance the import of arms and other goods. This is one of the reasons why on a short-term basis the country's debt is relatively minor and it can claim a net creditor position in relation to foreign commercial banks.

At the end of March 1982, the Israeli Government owed \$8.7b. to foreign governments and international public institutions; \$3b. to world Jewry and only \$229m., some 1.7 per cent of its total obligations, to foreign commercial banks, most of this debt being middle- and long-term.

On the other hand, Israel's public sector has, over the past five years, increased the amount of foreign currency reserves in its hands. These reserves are mostly invested in foreign assets and in foreign banks.

In 1977, the foreign currency reserves held by the Bank of Israel reached \$1.6b. By the end of 1981, these reserves totalled some \$3.5b. What happened was that over the years Israel used some grants and long-term credits not only to pay for imports, but also to accumulate reserves and to invest them in foreign assets at a rate of interest higher than the one it had to pay to long-term creditors.

Israeli commercial banks, for their part, hold some \$5b. in

foreign banks and have liabilities owed to these banks of about \$4b., so they, too, are net creditors vis-a-vis the international commercial banking system.

It is more than likely that the U.S. would find it most difficult to convince an over-sensitive international banking system to begin a punishment campaign against Israeli commercial banks. The latter are in a sound financial position, while the former is going through one of its most serious crises in years.

Nor could the amount of dollars Israel must repay for debt servicing in future months be a means for American leverage. During 1982, Israel will have to pay back some \$4.9b. to foreign creditors, but this figure must be broken down into its elements in order to give proper weight to its importance.

Of the \$4.9b. figure, some \$3.9b. represents repayment of principal, but this figure includes \$2.4b. of short-term obligations. This, as already noted, cannot be a source of worry for our decision-makers.

True, Israel this year will have to pay \$1b. in interest on its liabilities, but it has to be remembered that Israel will also be earning interest from foreign currency assets it holds.

SOME HISTORY could be useful at this point. During 1981, the rates of interest for U.S. dollar assets went up sharply as a result of American monetary policies. Israel was able to take advantage of these rising rates since most of its assets

were placed on a short-term basis.

Israel's debt, on the other hand, is based on the long-term credits it has received over the years. When these credits were granted, the prevailing rates of interest were lower than those of today, and in some cases even lower than the present rate of inflation in the U.S.

Israel's rising interest earnings on foreign assets are reflected in the statistics published by the Bank of Israel on net payments for capital services.

These include sums paid to foreigners as interest and the transfer overseas of profits made here by foreign enterprises. As a result of the higher interest rates which Israel-owned assets were earning relative to the interest paid on the country's debt, the net figure for capital services payments in 1981 was \$100m. smaller than that of 1980.

Of the \$4.9b. which Israel will have to pay during the present year, only \$1.4b. was the result of middle-term credits, which the country received some years ago.

This is a sum, which as noted, Israel can handle. Even in the worst case, Israel would have almost no difficulties in renegotiating this debt, since only \$300m. of the \$1.4b. accounts for payments to be made to foreign governments and international institutions, and \$1b. is due to credits received through the Israeli banking system, directly or through its intermediation, and from the Jewish people.

ANOTHER THEORETICAL threat to Israel, one that frequently

appears in hypothetical scenarios of American-Israeli confrontation, is that the administration might in some way block the U.S. government aid annually given to Israel. To evaluate this threat, one must consider certain facts and figures.

Recent developments suggest that in 1982 Israel's imports of arms and equipment will amount to about \$2.2b., a sum roughly equal to the amount of U.S. aid it receives in grants and long-term credits. Israel also imports goods and materials for local military production and activities totalling some \$700m.

These two figures together, some \$2.9b. for military imports for 1982, are more or less similar to the amount of aid Israel is requesting from the U.S. for 1983.

The most likely way U.S. aid could be used as an instrument of pressure would be for the American administration to prevent an aid increase, rather than cutting the present amount, a move that is being bandied about in the U.S. Congress and in the media. This is so since the annual aid figure is determined by long-run agreements that are difficult to break. And such a step would mean an almost head-on clash with Israel, which goes against the interests of any American administration.

So let us assume that on the pretext of a general need to limit the federal budget, the U.S. Government decides to keep aid to Israel at its present level.

This does not mean that Israel will remain defenceless. One step the Israeli decision-makers could take would be a reduction in military imports.

In fact, there are senior economic officials in Jerusalem who would

welcome this and have for years insisted on the need to reduce the rate of increase in military spending. Defence Minister Ariel Sharon himself has said more than once that he prefers a smaller, more efficient army and that Israel cannot afford to be trapped in a quantitative arms race with the Arab states.

Thus the possibility of using U.S. aid as a means of leverage in the short-term is also limited, since Israel could adapt itself to this situation.

On the other hand, a reduction in Israel's orders for military goods from U.S. plants could mean higher unemployment in certain sectors of the U.S. economy.

Those Israelis who want the Begin government to change its course must not look to short-term economic pressure from the U.S., but to their own efforts to convince the public of the dangers they see for Israel and the Middle East.

This analysis, it should be stressed, is limited to the short-term and does not deal with the potential effectiveness of political pressure on Israel.

In the long run, the picture is, of course, completely different. Israel's exports are becoming less and less capable of paying for the country's imports, and in due time, the resulting debt will become unbearable if no long-term aid and credits are forthcoming. The U.S. could use economic means to try to bend Israel only by a continuous and long effort.

In any confrontation between Reagan and Begin, it would be logical to expect the U.S. to use political means unless the American administration is convinced that the confrontation will be a long one and economic pressures have a chance of success.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

UNHOLY MEETING

By ALEXANDER ZVIELI

PRESIDENT REAGAN was correct in his assertion that the Beirut massacre indicates that there is an urgent need to solve the Palestine problem — and to solve it as soon as possible. His assertion would have been much more powerful, however, if he had had the courage to add that it was the continued refusal by the Arab states and others to recognize Israel and the artificial perpetuation of the refugee problem which were the real causes of the recent excesses.

The non-recognition of Israel is a part of the Arabs' grand strategy. And the artificial perpetuation of the refugee problem is a part of this strategy works, the pressure is on Israel and blame for any turmoil in the region can be laid at the door of Jews and the Jewish state.

It is not only the Arab states and their close allies who subscribe to this strategy. The Holy See, too, is equally responsible.

Why, for example, did Pope John Paul II agree to grant the PLO leader Yasser Arafat an audience? Was it to proclaim once more that he has "sympathy for both Israelis and the Palestinians"? This was certainly a very strange and provocative way of showing sympathy towards Israel.

Why should the pope, a reputed liberal, scholar, writer and philosopher, author of numerous studies on ethics and mystery of human soul, shake hands with Yasser Arafat and be photographed with him? The pope is a man of this world and a survivor of the Nazi occupation in Europe. He must be deeply aware of what Arafat and PLO stand for.

In 1979, he visited Auschwitz, where he prayed and condemned the extermination of Jews. Does he now support an Arab leader whose programme of action calls for a second Holocaust, this time in Eretz Yisrael?

In 1979, in an encounter with Jews in New York, the pontiff vigorously condemned anti-Semitism. It is difficult to believe that his attitudes have so profoundly changed.

It is possible, however, that the Vatican has numerous pressing reasons to support the Arab states, but this recent meeting of the pope and Arafat requires a more convincing explanation.

IN HIS little-known but important speech made at Otranto, Southern Italy, in October 1980, the pope summed up his conception of the Palestine problem. The special wording of his declaration deserves special attention:

"The creation of Israel excluded a large part of the Palestinian people from their homeland," he said. "The creation of the State of Israel created sad conditions for the Palestinian people, who were in conspicuous part excluded from their homeland. These are facts that everyone can see..."

What indeed are the facts? There can be little doubt that it is this narrow, one-sided, shortsighted view on the origins and development of the Palestine problem which is largely responsible for the present turmoil today.

It is simply not true that the creation of the State of Israel excluded a large part of the Palestinian people from their homeland.

Israel's historians would not doubt be only too happy to challenge their Vatican colleagues on such issues as the origins of Israel's War of Independence and the responsibility for the creation of the refugee problem. They would point out that Israel continually pleaded for peace while the Arab states continued to attempt to destroy the state, thus keeping the refugee problem alive. Numerous books have been written on this subject. We simply cannot bring forth all of our arguments here.

There is, however, one aspect of the Papal attitude which deserves particular attention: "These are facts that everyone can see." What he means is only too clear: The Jews expelled the Arabs to create their state. It is on these grounds that the pope now feels free to receive Arafat. One wrong may be balanced by a second wrong if the object is to demonstrate even-handedness — even if such an attitude is not particularly Christian.

It is for this reason, too, that the pope received the PLO's "foreign minister," Farouk Kaddumi, and other PLO leaders and pardoned the former bishop of Jerusalem, Hilarion Cappuci, who had been convicted of gun-running for the PLO. And it is for this reason that he is charitable and generous to the PLO leaders, even though he knows

they are not the sole or the elected representatives of the Palestine people and that their dream is the ultimate liquidation of Israel.

THIS ATTITUDE, which makes the Jews the scapegoat for the Palestine problem, calls for a more extensive examination. Blaming the Jewish people for all the sins of mankind was once a standard feature of Catholic education. Perhaps we were misguided when we thought something had changed since the Holocaust.

Let us consider the case of Karol Wojtyla, who is now Pope John Paul II.

Few people are aware that the late Cardinal Adam Sapieha, once a powerful force in the Polish Catholic hierarchy, was the young Wojtyla's teacher, adviser, spiritual guide and confessor.

Indeed, Adam Sapieha saved Wojtyla's life by hiding him in his palace in Cracow in August, 1944, when the Nazis were hunting down young Catholic seminary students for deportation to German concentration camps.

Wojtyla lived with Sapieha for over a year, and when Wojtyla took his final examinations in theology, Sapieha awarded him his most promising pupil the highest possible marks. Following the Nazi defeat, Sapieha ordained Wojtyla a priest in his private chapel in Cracow in August, 1946.

This is all well and good, except for the fact that Cardinal Sapieha was, in typical Polish Catholic fashion of that period, well known for his patriotism and for his prejudices.

It was Sapieha who, at the time of Wojtyla's ordination, refused to condemn the Kielce pogrom, claiming that it was the result of Jews in the Communist government attempting to force an unwanted structure on the Polish people.

It was Cardinal Sapieha, too, who barred Father Henryk Werynski, the sole Catholic priest who had the courage to denounce the Kielce

pogrom and other anti-Semitic excesses, from all ecclesiastical duties.

There were thousands of Poles who welcomed the Russians and joined the new Polish government in an honest attempt at rebuilding the country — but it was so much easier and more convenient to blame the Jews. Such was the atmosphere in liberated Cracow at the time. "Bloody Jews, Judases, traitors," were blamed for all of Poland's ills, including the Soviet occupation.

Such was the atmosphere in which young Wojtyla grew up.

IS THERE ANY connection between this long-forgotten episode from Karol Wojtyla's youth and the policies of Pope John Paul II today?

What was the pope's — or his court's — contribution to the solution of the Palestine conflict? Did he challenge the Arab strategy of non-recognition? Did he wholeheartedly welcome the Egyptian peace initiative? Did he contribute to the assessment and solution of the Palestinian refugee problem? Did he directly ask the Arab states to make peace? Or did he content himself with pious declarations, blaming Israel for "excluding a large part of the Palestinian people from their homeland?" Was this the objectivity one would expect from a scholar and a statesman? Or do we see Adam Sapieha's influence of putting all the blame on the Jews?

Meeting Yasser Arafat was, after all, only one painful event. But it explained an attitude of so-called even-handedness that is the prime factor in the continuing conflict marked by terrorist actions.

The Vatican, situated in that old selfish Europe, is precisely the centre that could make all the difference with a more constructive and understanding approach.

The text of the pope's statement on Lebanon, the Middle East and Jerusalem, published shortly after his meeting with Arafat, expressed once again his sympathy for both

Israelis and Palestinians, heirs and custodians of different religions, and the hope that a dialogue between them would soon begin, one that would bring about tolerance and reconciliation, and glory for Jerusalem, the Holy Land and Lebanon.

Was the meeting with Arafat, a radical Arab leader whose sole desire is the liquidation of Israel, a step in the right direction?

The recent harvest in Lebanon is a bitter one indeed. But the blame

for the situation there must be put squarely on the shoulders of all those who, over the years, have respected the Arab boycott, demonstrated hatred and intransigence and failed to ask themselves whether they had done everything they could to promote peace in the Middle East.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post staff.

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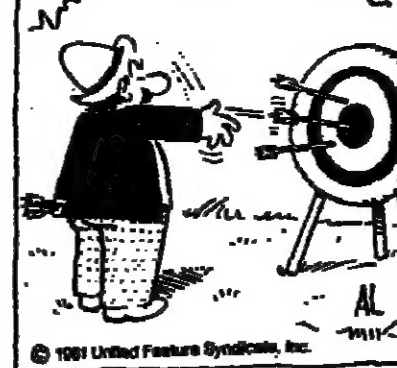
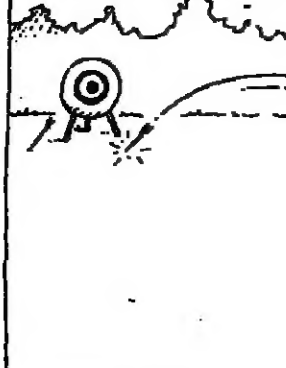
Details and registration at the Company's Tel Aviv offices: 133 Sderot Rothschild, Tel Aviv. Tel. 03-225158, 238283. Opening hours: Sun., Mon., Wed., Thur. 8.30 a.m.-6.00 p.m. Tuesday 8.30 a.m.-3.00 p.m. Friday 8.30 a.m.-1.00 p.m.

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Garden Varieties

By A. J. Santora/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

<p>ACROSS</p> <p>1 Bail on the ocean</p> <p>5 Wimbledon winner: 1975</p> <p>9 Glide</p> <p>13 Lock</p> <p>18 Leaping cat</p> <p>19 Associate as an</p> <p>21 Sickly</p> <p>22 Great Lakes acronym</p> <p>23 Growths in the Holland causeways?</p> <p>26 Osmani, for one</p> <p>27 What the fastidious farmer minds?</p> <p>29 Oxford shoe</p> <p>30 Cottage (country house)</p> <p>31 Arrest</p> <p>32 Gustav, German physicist</p> <p>33 Uter</p> <p>35 Small hooter</p> <p>37 Gives a boot</p> <p>39 Disappoints</p> <p>41 Plus</p> <p>42 Outcasts in Osaka</p> <p>43 "He's making"</p> <p>45 Mass motto word</p> <p>46 Juan Carlos I, e.g.</p> <p>48 Greenville university</p> <p>50 Snipefish</p> <p>52 Clique in a club</p> <p>57 Inquire into relatives' secrets?</p> <p>62 Golden shiner</p> <p>63 Venetian fishing boat</p> <p>65 Taming-material source</p> <p>66 Groove</p> <p>67 Epitaph</p> <p>68 Peruvian gambling event?</p> <p>71 Cockchafer</p> <p>72 Singer</p> <p>74 Inward</p> <p>75 Actress Rowlands</p> <p>76 — colada</p> <p>77 Johnson gets unerved?</p> <p>80 Best-planted garden?</p> <p>82 Teacher's org.</p> <p>83 Hangover helper</p> <p>85 Pouch</p> <p>86 Straighten</p>	<p>DOWN</p> <p>1 Everyone</p> <p>2 Brays</p> <p>3 The Tyrones, actually</p> <p>4 Sialia</p> <p>5 Quaker gray</p> <p>6 Sound</p> <p>7 Difficult position</p> <p>8 Hebrew bushel</p> <p>9 Season</p> <p>10 Caulking material</p> <p>11 A Waugh</p> <p>12 Summaries</p> <p>13 Site of tomb of Seti I</p> <p>14 Apple variety</p> <p>15 "Nature" essayist</p> <p>16 Teeters</p> <p>17 Ukr., e.g.</p> <p>20 Becomes edgy</p> <p>24 Given a handicap</p> <p>25 Insecticides</p> <p>28 Type of pot holder</p> <p>29 Scarf</p> <p>34 Chemical ending</p> <p>36 Strange</p> <p>38 W.W. II fliers</p> <p>39 Hookups</p> <p>40 Fine pottery</p> <p>43 Hussein's capital</p>	<p>44 Toy poodle, e.g.</p> <p>47 Himalayan snowman</p> <p>48 Nursery-rhyme start</p> <p>51 To live, to Livy</p> <p>52 Rock bottom</p> <p>53 Fragrance</p> <p>55 Man's slipper</p> <p>56 Exceptionally fine</p> <p>58 Empty</p> <p>59 "Live Free" (N.H. motto)</p> <p>60 International club</p> <p>61 Gold measure</p> <p>64 Enclosed, as a pupa</p> <p>68 Guipure, for one</p> <p>69 Alleviates</p> <p>70 Dutch painter: 1632-93</p> <p>73 Ate in style</p> <p>76 Chinese unit of weight</p> <p>78 Shade of brown</p> <p>79 Without any doubt</p> <p>81 Throws cold water on</p> <p>84 Sticky stuff</p> <p>86 Skater</p> <p>Bablonia</p>	<p>87 Frat men, at times</p> <p>88 Shortages in containers</p> <p>90 Star trekking</p> <p>92 Conforming to proportion</p> <p>93 Postpone</p> <p>95 Dior creation</p> <p>96 Track</p> <p>97 A Giant at 16</p> <p>98 — first sight</p> <p>100 Father of Eliasaph: Num. 3:24</p> <p>104 He wrote "The Wild Duck"</p> <p>105 French cathedral city</p> <p>107 Surfer's surface</p> <p>110 Old Norse poem</p> <p>111 Information</p> <p>112 Proverbial septet</p> <p>113 Vous — (you are), in Arles</p> <p>114 — Paulo, Brazil</p> <p>116 Wind dir.</p>
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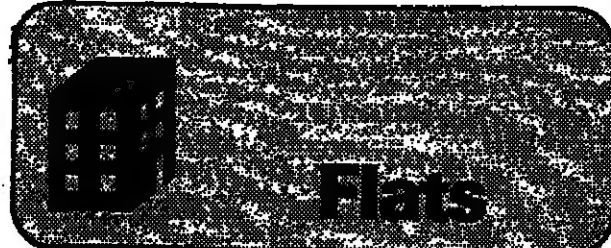
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Yehoshua Haim, 3 room cottage, also immediate availability, Gan 4 Shimon Hamalka, 223840, 227775.

Zamir and Sons is building 4 1/2 rooms, Ribon Lezion, immediate occupancy, and under construction. Promising project, Migdal Ramat, Ramat Gan, 4, 1424, m.s., 1464, m.s., 03-761779.

Kfar Sava, central, quiet, green area. Kfar Sava offers 4 rooms in 5 story building (N.Y. High standard of planning and workmanship in flats and villas). Call for details, 03-247730, 03-245382.

S.A.P. is building in Ramat Aviv, 3 Rehov Brody, new buildings, luxurious flats, 4 1/2, 5 1/2 rooms. Details: S.A.P. 64 Sokolov, Holon, 03-247730, 03-245382.

Orion Real Estate, 13 Rehov Ahad Haam, Tel Aviv, 03-60281.

Fresh, green grass, quiet Holiday. Mediterranean of Givat Ramat, 03-521135.

Rich, green grass in one day. Mediterranean, Givat Ramat's grass carpet, 03-521135.

Villas and cottages in Bnei Brak in Yehoshua, Ramat Ramat, over 150,000,000. Dado office: 054-77224, 054-77227.

Blue Barcha in Yehoshua, luxury 5 level corner villa, 054-77224.

Ramat Ramat, immediate, bargain, cottage, household contents possible, 144730.

Home with 1/2 dunes, Tel. 343630, 754400.

Herzliya, small villa to let, environment for 8 months, 03-70751, 03-283354.

America houses you must see, 3410 per sq.m. building, completed within 6 months, 03-754663.

Freimann for construction, builds luxurious cottages in green Herzliya, 33 Sokolov, Herzliya, Tel. 03-525382.

Kfar Sava, 4 gardens, storehouse, 3 balconies, 100,000, 03-750412.

Sale, central Ramat Ramat, luxurious cottage, 5 rooms, on 1/2 dunes plot, with garage, Tel. 03-753646, only between 17.00-19.00.

For serious, Dream posthouse, enormous, for those seeking solace in central Rehovot, 03-525382.

For serious, Flat + plot, central Rehovot, private, cottage + gated plot, private, 5 1/2 floor, central, cottage on plot, luxurious, new at old prices, 03-525382.

Ramat Ramat, 2 family, 3 1/2 + garden, 22400, 70,000, 03-91187.

Cottage for sale, Ramat Ramat, 5 rooms, phone, additions, 03-525382.

Arad, frame of villa, bargain, price, Details: 03-90970.

4 Rehov Congress, 3 floors + available flat, 03-820439.



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Bed Room, 4 room flat, new, 2nd floor, 3 exposures, 03-227832, 15,000.

Unique luxurious 6 room flat in most beautiful place in Ramat Ramat, breathtaking view, on big large garden, for serious, only \$1,000 per sq.m., 22400, including most of the furniture, Tel. 03-740273.

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Trade In, Gan Flats, Petah Tikva. Gan Flats have no competitors, come see for yourselves, mortgages up to \$200,000. Gan, 20 Haim Ozer, Petah Tikva.

Mitzi Pearl offers for sale Holon 65-70 Rehov Hoffman, luxury flats, 4 1/2 rooms including roof flat, complete luxury, excellent prices from \$75,000. Apply at our office, Holon, 83 Sokolov, Tel. 825162.

A.M. Medina offers Ramat Gan, 4 1/2 rooms in Kfar Sava, 4 1/2 + 1/2, posthouse; in Hod Hasharon, 3 rooms, Mortgage \$200,000, 3 Ramat Ramat, Ramat, 03-22536.

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4 Rehov Congress, 3 floors + available flat, 03-820439.

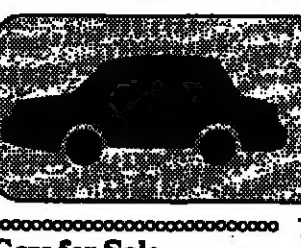
Rishon LeZion, Davidson 13-12, 4 rooms, on location 9-8-82, 15,000, 18,000, 03-662873.

3-3 1/2 ROOMS

Rehovot, Eisenberg, 3 1/2 rooms, Tel. 054-72460.

Rahov, Lezion, 3, 4th floor, Villa, well-arranged, parking, 03-922844.

Citrus Yehoshua, 3 rooms, new, first floor, on pillars, extra, 31456.



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Available from stock, Opd Kadet and Ascona 1983, manual and automatic, Autovik, 11 Shekima, Tel Aviv, 03-294593, 03-291499.

Campaign, original airconditioner, for all types of vehicles, unbeatable for price, 03-80922.

Engines for all types of vehicles, gears, axles, more... Becker Brothers, 03-825291.

Had experience with personal vehicle import? Write: P.O.B. 6297, Tel Aviv.

Loans for purchasing vehicle, old, new, Mor, 76 Derot Petah Tikva, 337022.

Car Fair in Car City, Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Special Special Special Size have arrived! Get them in selected tobacco stores.

AUSTIN, MORRIS

Marina 300, 1976, one owner, 33,000, 110,000, 238138.

AUTOBIANCHI

Must sell Autobianchi 1978, 60,000km, 3rd owner, 03-249845.

B.M.W.

1800, 1971, automatic, good condition, 130,000km, 86399.

BMW 518, 1979, automatic, airconditioner, excellent condition, 04-615673.

B.M.W. 1969, 2nd owner, excellent condition, bargain, 04-911404.

Improvements and extras! Surprisingly low price, 03-232112.

B.M.W. 1981, special models.

COMMERCIAL CARS

Renault 4, 1977, commercial, windows, excellent condition, 419371.

Opel Camaro, 1979, automatic, airconditioner, 03-825900.

G.M.C. van, 1974, 120,000km, excellent condition, 03-245382.

Kelvin Umlah Realty purchases truck, for unloading, 03-844063, 03-80229.

Honoring commercial, 1973, fast, steering, tyres, clutch, radiator, 04-645461, home, 03-51528.

Suzuki van, 1974, good condition, 78746, not Shabbat.

Van D 100, 1974, 067-63030, weak, 03-525382.

Volkswagen double cab, 1973, second owner, 87922.

Simca 1100, 1976, commercial, windows, 419371.

343, 1977, commercial, 180,000, 03-245382, 1259.

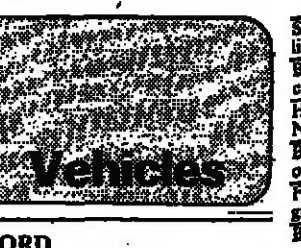
Commercial Renault 1974, 145,000 km, 836315, 450780, Saturday.

Ford truck 1974, late 1979, year test, 03-525382.

Commercial Renault 1974, second owner, excellent condition, 481021.

404, 1978, fireproof box, test, excellent condition, 03-945387.

Double cab 1970, 1980 engine, excellent condition, 03-945387.



Flats for Rent

Flatmate for flat, 3, Ramat Gan, phone, \$100, 756029.

Great location, for rent, 3 rooms, spacious kitchen, utility room, \$170 monthly, rental, 750504, work, 751236, home.

Petah Tikva, excellent location, 2, 751436, from site, 03-901124.

Petah Tikva center, 2 1/2 rooms, 03-903844, evenings, not Shabbat.

Ramat Gan, 2 rooms, gas, phone, 03-43707.

Petah Tikva, 4, new, good location, 03-731436, from site, 03-901124.

Petah Tikva, centrally located, 2 1/2, phone, airconditioner, 03-916422.

Petah Tikva, everybody is renting/leasing flats (+ free contract) at this price, 912039.

Ramat Gan center, 3 1/2 rooms, phone, furniture, airconditioner, 754561.

Original spare parts for Fiat cars, 51 Rehov Lavanda, Tel Aviv, 03-332813.

Simca Chrysler

Chrysler 1307, 1977, one owner, well kept, excellent condition, Tel. 915042, 493938, work.

Subaru

DL 1400-2, 1978, 69,000km, one owner, 03-77819.

Engines, gears, sale and metal parts for Subaru and private, 03-905962.

Skoda 1400-77, good condition, test, radio, 03-44889.

Subaru 1400, station, 1976, 151,400km, Tel. 362048.

1600 DL, 1976, from rental, 60,000km, 200,000, 03-227566.

For Subaru owners, spare parts and accessories at Tel Aviv, 27 Yitzhak Rabin, 03-525382.

Compe 1973, body and spray, excellent, 1995,000, 03-837392.

Interested in Subaru hardtop, 1982, 03-913430.

Subaru 1976, 1600, automatic, excellent condition, 762692, home, 139256, home work.

SUSSITA, CARMEL

Bergin, Ducas 1972, excellent mechanical condition, 597350, 71273.

Ducas 1969, well kept, 6 months test, 313092.

U.S. CARS

Pontiac Le Mans, 1975, coupe 6, excellent condition, 366300.

Oldsmobile Cutlass 74, 6 cylinder, 1974, 845180.

Pontiac Sunbird 1979, beautiful, 35,000km, one owner, excellent condition, 03-70727.

Omega Brougham 11-78, 6 cylinder, economical model, 90,000km, power steering, airconditioner, electrical work, 15,800, 03-51861, work.



Deputy Premier David Levy greets David Goldfarb, general manager of the King Solomon Sheraton in Jerusalem, at the hotel's Rosh Hashana cocktail party.

Head over heels

PUBLIC FACES/Mark Segal

PERHAPS the most unfortunate headline of the year appeared in the Rosh Hashana-eve edition of *Yedioth Aharanot*. Over an interview with Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan was this banner caption: "By entering West Beirut, we prevented a catastrophe."

FAR FROM the madding crowd, Ezer Weizman maintains his self-imposed exile in Caesarea. The former defence minister has been unavailable for comment on reports that he's the focal point of discussions for a new centrist party, together with Energy Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and Likud-Liberal MK Dror Zeigerman, both of whom went against the government in the Knesset on Wednesday, and possibly Shimon Peres.

But the once-ebullient Ezer cannot but be nodding his head in an expression of "I told you so" about his private warnings over the choice of the latest occupant of the Defence Ministry office in which he once sat, Ariel Sharon.

BERMAN, by the way, only returned from abroad on Tuesday, less than 24 hours before he handed his resignation to Prime Minister Menachem Begin. He got back just in time to participate in the cabinet session which rejected President Yitzhak Navon's plea for a commission of inquiry into the events surrounding the Sabra-Shatilla massacres and to have a stormy showdown with the prime minister. He then went back to his office to write his letter of resignation.

When we called Berman's Energy Ministry office on Wednesday, we were told by a secretary that the minister "won't be coming back here." Turns out that's not quite the case. The meticulous ex-minister was back at the office yesterday, cleaning up his desk and taking care of unfinished ministry business.

NECESSARY SLIP? *Mabat*, the TV news show, had a tough time early in the week. The crew at TV House was apparently unable to get a senior minister to appear before its cameras to discuss the aftermath of the Beirut tragedy. They got "noes" from Begin, Sharon, Deputy Premier David Levy, Communications Minister Mordechai Zilber, Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, Minister Without Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat, and an "I'll think it over" and then a refusal from Foreign Minister Yitzhak Mordechai.

Finally, they got a "yes" from Yitzhak Mordechai, the Liberal minister without portfolio, who set the tone for the "stab-in-the-back" charges Begin and Sharon were to level on Wednesday at opposition leader Shimon Peres. Those charges were also aimed, by implication, at a lot of others, from Prof. Ephraim Urbach and ex-President Ezer Weizman to the Israel Bar Association, and the Teachers' Union.

Then there's the matter of Mordechai's reference to President Navon as "the state controller," a "slip" which he quickly corrected when prompted by the TV interviewer.

THE EDUCATIONAL TV afternoon newsmagazine, *Erev Hadash*, had the same problem as Israel TV. When no minister would consent to appear, host Dan Margalit had to settle for Yitzhak Rabin in a "solo" interview.

EXPENSE ACCOUNT. While we are getting a lot of silence, full-page advertisements containing the government's "blood libel" statement appeared in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. The initiative reportedly was taken by none other than Begin himself, who phoned someone at the Israel Embassy in Washington to authorize the ads, which cost \$50,000 of our taxpayers' money.

WHAT'S IN a compliment department. Histadrut, Likud faction heads Zevulun Hammer and Ya'acov Shamal this week complained to Histadrut Secretary-General Yehoshua Mesel about the front-page editorial in *Davar* headlined "Remove this wicked government from the land," and even asked for a special session of the Labour

federation executive to censure editor Haim Zemer. When I asked Mrs. Zemer for her reaction, she replied coolly: "I regard their demand as a great honour."

I MANAGED to catch Agudat Yisrael's affable coalition executive chairman Avraham Shapira early on Wednesday morning to ask him about the stand his faction was going to adopt in the Knesset vote, on the setting up of an inquiry commission into the Beirut massacre. He said the ultra-Orthodox faction would vote against. "Believe me, our people are wise men," he maintained. "We know such a body would be bad for Jews throughout the world." He explained that he was in a hurry to attend a reception at the Bank of Israel on his assuming the chairmanship of its advisory council.

Interestingly, Shapira didn't breathe a word about the widely-reported objections to the faction's position of Rabbi Eliezer Schach, co-chairman of the Aguda's Council of Sages. He complained that the politicians had disdained to consult with him both on the inquiry commission issue and about the coalition's rejection of President Ronald Reagan's peace plan. The venerable rabbi argued that Israel should not purposely foster friction with the nations of the world.

POLICE Inspector-General Arye Ivzian is most unhappy about the rising popularity of Tel Aviv police chief, Nitzav Avraham Turgeman, with the Likud and other government parties, especially in view of the "efficient" way he smashed the spontaneous protest demonstration in Dizengoff against the Beirut massacre.

Ivzian, who regards Turgeman as his closest rival, has managed so far to prevent him giving any press interviews. But he could hardly keep his picture out of some papers, where he was seen fighting the demonstrators together with his valiant cops. When a counter-demonstration started chanting "Begin, Begin" from the other side of Dizengoff, Turgeman said he had no intention of arresting any of them. "It's my job now to quieten things down," he said with an appreciative smile at the nearest cameraman.

Meanwhile, up in Jerusalem, the police were breaking up a demonstration outside the prime minister's residence in Rehov Balfour. The most interesting story to emerge from that sorry fracas came from protester Arye Eilat who found that the officer in charge of the large force summoned to smash the peaceful protest was none other than Tat-Nitzav Shmuel Bagler, whom Lova has known since the time he headed the team that set up the Lachish region and Bugler was a young officer at Kiryat Gat. Bugler told him that he had his orders to use tear gas against the demonstrators. Eilat's parting words to the embarrassed policeman: "The last time I was tear-gassed it was by British officers on board an Aliya Bet boat."

SOCIAL SERVICES and Absorption Minister Aharon Uzan has come back from France straight into a row with WZO Aliya Department head Rafael Kotlowitz, the latter having charged him with reporting less than the facts about a successful aliya campaign among former North African Jews living in France. The Tunisian-born Tami minister wants Begin to rap Kotlowitz's knuckles.

THE EL AL works committees looked this week like innocents going to the slaughter as they walked straight into the trap set by the government. It seems that Premier Begin and Transport Minister Haim Coria have been waiting for some time to take revenge for the epidemic of El Al strikes.

Incidentally, El Al chairman Nabumna Perl has apologized for the unpleasant way the management's letters suspending the staff were delivered to a number of their pilots' homes late during the first night of Rosh Hashana. Two of the pilots' concerned have sons serving with the IDF in Lebanon and both the El Al wives jumped to the con-

clusion that the late-night callers were bringing bad news from the front, and went into a state of near-shock.

PART OF the reason for the agitated activity inside the NRP is the emergence of a new party faction tied to Gush Emunim and led by such right-wingers as Rabbi Haim Druckman, Bnei Akiva yeshiva head Rabbi Moshe Zvi Neriya, and WZO executive member and Youth Aliya head Yosef Shapira. They have also poached such hawkish members of the Youth Faction of Education Minister Zevulun Hammer as Aharon Cohen, brother of Tehiya's "La Passioneira," Gula Cohen. The faction hopes to eat into Hammer's support during next spring's NRP internal elections.

THE NAME of Israel's illustrious first president has surfaced in the office of the Labour Party's spokesman, where Haim Weizmann is the new assistant to spokesman Dr. Yosef Bellia. Weizmann, who took over from Gideon Levi, has already run into trouble. It appears that some of the callers do not take him at his word. When a reporter called the other day and asked for Bellia, the new assistant replied: "This is Haim Weizmann." The bad-tempered spokesman retorted: "And this is Binjamin Ze'ev Herzl," and slammed down the phone.

NOVELIST-artist-columnist Dahn Ben-Amotz has announced that as an individual protest against the government's move into West Beirut and Israeli financing of Phalangist equipment and arms, he will refuse to pay his war levy assessment of \$144,800 and instead donate the same amount to the army invalids' association. He trusts that the tax authorities would take note of his protest.

TEL AVIV lawyer Daniel Mirkin has been sailing his yacht in the Mediterranean for the past seven summers. He told me that on this year's cruise, the sight of the Israeli flag on his boat earned him the roughest welcome he had ever received. At Monaco he heard cries of "Israel get out of Lebanon," and in Corsican ports he encountered anti-Semitic remarks. Throughout the Greek islands he kept hearing the phrase "Israel boum-boum" from the locals.

What upset him in particular was that when docking at the tiny harbour of Galaxidia in the Gulf of Corinth, he found his neighbours were South Africans, who told him: "It's nice to be next to you — after all, we too are treated like lepers." The only place where the local people went out of their way to congratulate him as an Israeli was at the smart Sicilian port of Taormina.

TIMELY REPEAT. In his Knesset speech on Wednesday, Begin lashed out at a prominent Israeli author who had talked of civil war in a Rosh Hashana-eve interview. The premier didn't mention a name, but Israel TV's Haim Yavin later told us that the reference was to a statement made by A.B. Yehoshua, in an article by Levi Yitzhak Hayereshalmi, in the *Morav* of Rosh Hashana eve.

Replying to the charge, Yehoshua yesterday called *The Post* from his Haifa home to claim that Begin had misquoted him, though he was not sure whether it was "by accident or with malice." The author explained that he had certainly not called for a civil war, but had merely said that it might happen in five or six years, around the question of "re-division of Eretz Yisrael."

Noting that he had also suggested that "intensifying communication between the camps" might diminish this possibility, Yehoshua added: "If Mr. Begin is certain and promises that Jews in Israel will never raise their hand against the elected government — on any subject and against any government — we'd be happy not only to accept that promise, but will keep it for redemption in the future."

For anyone who missed the original Yehoshua interview, the statements he made were repeated several hours after Begin's speech on Galai Zahal. The occasion was a repeat broadcast of Yehoshua's interview with Ya'acov Agmon.

THE PRIDE AND THE FALL

By YOSEF GOEL

THE MENACHEM BEGIN who took to the Knesset rostrum on Wednesday to scotch any bid for a state inquiry into the Beirut massacre was not the old Begin. It was not the Begin accustomed to being the unchallenged king of his party, nor was it the sure-footed political wizard who kept his shaky coalition together while laughing in the face of his opponent Shimon Peres.

Television was never kind to Menachem Begin. This week it was positively cruel as it showed the master orator stumbling over a Hebrew idiom that would have rolled off his tongue in bygone days, and emphasized the Godfather, Don Corleone, aspect of the high-pitched rasp he affects in the heat of political battle.

Begin directed his baleful looks and his threatening rhetoric at the world, which he accused of launching yet another blood libel against the Jewish people, and at the Labour Party, which he charged with attempting to squeeze every last ounce of partisan advantage out of the tragedy of Beirut. But it would seem that his real anger was directed at his own colleagues in his own party, his Likud federation and his coalition. At times he reminded one of the wounded and betrayed Ben-Gurion railing at his own followers in his declining political years after the Lavon Affair.

It is difficult to recall that only a few weeks back, Begin seemed to be at his zenith. Public opinion polls indicated that if early elections were to be held in the wake of the successful completion of the Lebanese campaign, a Begin-led Likud would win an unprecedented absolute majority.

Early in the week he could still get a formal cabinet majority to support his opposition to any form of inquiry into the Beirut disaster. But by mid-week this semblance of coalition discipline was in a shambles, defying even the master's attempts to whip it into line once again.

To be sure, in the Knesset Begin succeeded in beating down the opposition motions. The price he paid was an erosion in his position of leadership that we have never witnessed before.

THAT Energy Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and fellow Liberal MK Dror Zeigerman chose to split with Begin over the issue of a judicial inquiry should not have come as a total surprise. The insistence of the NRP's Education Minister Zevulun Hammer and Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir on an inquiry, in the face of Begin's determined refusal of one, very definitely was a surprise. So was the news that Agudat Yisrael's Rabbi Schach, the co-chairman of its revered Council



of Tora Sages, pointedly dissociated himself and his party from an earlier unauthorized statement that the Aguda joined Begin in rejecting an inquiry.

Even more surprising were the statements from Tami, the Moroccan ethnic list which has generally supported Begin down the line, insisting on a judicial inquiry. And there was even some unsubstantiated, but nevertheless mind-boggling, talk of figures in the far-right, Arab-baiting Tehiya also expressing their unease at the Beirut tragedy, and, even more, at the transparent attempts to cover up the misguided judgments by Israeli leaders that had made it possible.

Cynics will say that these are all politicians with their own respective axes to grind. Undoubtedly true, in some of the cases. But to stop at that would be to miss the point. These are all politicians who are also sensitive sounding-boards of rank-and-file opinion in their own parties and in those localities in which they live and circulate. And they, no less than the Labour and Shinui opposition MKs, are echoing an Israel that has largely been appalled by the Lebanon massacre and outraged that the misjudgment, not to say stupidity, of their leaders may have played a not insignificant role in making it possible.

THIS WIDESPREAD sense of popular outrage and shame was correctly reflected by President Navon, who took an unprecedented step in going on television to urge an ef-

fective and persuasive inquiry. In Israel's super-heated political atmosphere there may even be those who would impugn the motives of the president. But what would they say of the Bar Association, certainly not a hotbed of self-hating leftists, and of its president, Dr. Amnon Goldenberg, Mr. Begin's preferred candidate for minister of justice, who also came out in demand of a judicial inquiry?

The real surprise is that Menachem Begin, that master politician who has always prided himself on having a super-sensitive finger on the public pulse, has so completely misread the public on this issue.

In the cabinet, there is room to believe that the ambience of revolt was the cumulative result of the burgeoning antipathy to Defence Minister Sharon and the high-handed manner in which he has succeeded in ramming the running of the Lebanese operation down the throats of his colleagues, making them appear to the public as a mindless flock of sheep.

EVEN in the absence of the definitive facts which have so far been denied the country by Mr. Begin's stonewalling, it is possible to put together reasonable explanations for the two primary questions over which the country has been in anguish: Why were the Phalange let into the camps by the IDF? And why was the IDF so slow in reacting to the original reports of the mas-

sacre being perpetrated so close to the Israeli lines?

The answer to the first question would seem to be that both Begin and Sharon were so enamoured with Bashir Jemayel as the linchpin of a new Lebanese order that would ensure peace with Israel that they were totally blind to his men's murderous hatred for the Palestinians.

For the answer to the second question one would do best to look in the direction of Ariel Sharon's lifelong insensitivity — to put it no stronger than that — to Arab civilian casualties. In the Knesset on Wednesday, Sharon did not so much express remorse at the victims in Beirut as seek to counter Labour's charges by libelling the very army he heads with unfounded charges of its complicity in the Phalange massacre of Palestinians at Tel az-Zaitar in 1976, when Shimon Peres was minister of defence.

THE PREMIER could in all likelihood deflect the attacks on his leadership from within by sacrificing Sharon. It is doubtful that he will choose to do so. Begin is known for his extreme loyalty, even when it is misguided, undeserved and a threat to his own position. It is enough to recall the case of Finance Minister Simha Ehrlich and the near catastrophe he constituted to the Israeli economy, to be aware of this otherwise admirable streak in Begin's nature.

In the present situation, however, making Ariel the scapegoat would also raise painful questions about Begin's own judgment. Even more, there is always the fear of what Sharon, one of the roughest and most brutal political players Israel has ever known, might do in lashing back. His basic dislike for Begin is no secret, certainly not from the prime minister himself.

Begin's attempt to introduce the red herring of a self-seeking Labour opposition partisanship has been rejected by his coalition partners. But if anything is likely to rescue him from the morass into which his two judgments have cast him, it will be a misguided, exaggerated international pressure for his resignation.

The more reports there are of the determination of the U.S. government to unseat Begin and to bring about Sharon's resignation, the more Herut, the Likud and the coalition can be expected to rally around the two men. The American government is certainly entitled to its opinions. It should at least be sophisticated enough to realize that seeking to translate them into overt anti-Israel pressure can only have a boomerang effect.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

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MICHAEL J. BERKHEIMER, Painter
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AN AGONIZING WEEK

TELEREVIEW / Philip Gillon

WHEN STRANGE and terrible calamities afflict a nation, it appears, for those of us who depend for our information on television screens, radio waves and newspapers, as if time has stood still and we have entered a time-space continuum of horrors. It seems incredible that little more than a week has passed since Bashir Jemayal was assassinated, and the IDF defied the entire world by entering West Beirut as a policeman to prevent Arabs murdering Arabs.

By the weekend, at least, we thought that the New Year would provide a break in our travail. On Friday, apparently, those of our political and military leaders who took the slightest interest in what was happening in Beirut knew about the massacres; but we humble viewers only learned of them through a terse announcement at the beginning of Saturday's Mabat. We were not shown pictures of the atrocities, but were told that these were on the way. Then we were informed that they had been delayed through a technical hitch.

Filled with dread, I switched to the BBC after Mabat was over. I heard an unctuous British voice saying that the whole world, apart from Israel, was looking agast on their television sets at the most appalling sights imaginable. The BBC news reader said that Israel had been denied these pictures because of censorship — and for the first time in my life I found myself thankful for an action by the censors. I admitted that I did not want to see what had happened in an area we had undertaken to police, although everybody asked us not to do so.

But we were not to be spared these sights. The BBC was wrong:

there had indeed been a technical hitch, and in the late news close to midnight we saw sights reminiscent of a film about the Holocaust screened a few months ago.

We waited anxiously, forlornly, desperately — even those of us who consider our prime minister to be an unmitigated national disaster — for him to appear and give an explanation and a message to the harrowed nation. A different kind of catastrophe, the Yom Kippur War, had inspired Golda Meir to deliver a great and courageous message. No prime minister. In fact, nobody. Good night. *Shana tova.*

Ah, well, it was a holy day. No doubt the premier was taking a rest. We assumed that we would hear from him on the following day.

Throughout Sunday, the news became worse and worse and worse. We were given a report, attributed to an anonymous government source, that some unknown group had entered like ghosts through a part of the perimeter of Beirut not patrolled by the IDF, had got into the refugee camps without its knowledge, and had committed the massacres. It was an amazing discovery, in the light of previous claims by the minister of defence that we had now encircled West Beirut completely. But it was possible; anything was possible. We now know, of course, that we had been told a blatant and unmitigated lie.

On Sunday night Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan appeared. Not a word did he say about the IDF giving

their blessing to Phalangist troops entering the camps. To my amazement, he explained that Lebanon belonged to the Lebanese. He accepted no responsibility whatsoever; everybody else was to blame. He looked like George Washington found with his little axe next to the cherry tree, ex-postulating that Tom Jefferson did it, that Pa was to blame for planting a tree on that spot, that somebody else was at fault for giving him the axe. The last proposition is probably correct.

That same night, their bellies comfortably full of several Rosh Hashana meals, the government at long last took notice of what had happened in Beirut, and what was occurring in Israel and the world outside it. At last, we thought, we were going to get an inspiring message from our main political leaders — from the prime minister, or the minister of defence, or the foreign minister.

Instead, we got the poor government spokesman, mouthing nonsense about the enemies of Jewry trying to fasten a blood libel on Israel.

BY THEN every newspaper, radio station and television channel in the world was carrying gory details of the story. Nobody, except the Arabs and the Russians, was accusing us of being physically parties to the mas-

sacre, but we were being charged with knowing that the Phalangists were going into Sabra and Shatilla to "clean up" the terrorists.

"Clean up" — it is a sweet phrase. It inspires a picture of mamma washing her child lovingly in the bath after he's played in the mud. Another phrase we like to use is "uproot terrorists." This agricultural reference makes us think of the good earth. In reality, of course, to "clean up" terrorists or to "uproot" them means to kill them.

The accusation of a "blood libel" obviously originated in the mind of the prime minister. Like so many of his historical allusions, it is wide of the mark. For centuries Jews were accused of murdering Christians to drink their blood in rituals, particularly in the Passover service. One of the most notorious instances of a blood libel was a report circulated in Kishinev in April 1903, which led to a pogrom in which 47 Jews were killed and 92 were severely injured.

It was clearly established at the time that the authorities in Kishinev had taken no action whatsoever to restrain the pogromists; on the contrary, the police had encouraged them. A wave of indignation engulfed the civilized world. President Theodore Roosevelt and other renowned leaders protested to the Russian government. Minister of the Interior Plehve rejected the

protests, no doubt considering them to be a blood libel on the Holy Russian Empire and the Russian Orthodox Church.

What the world accuses our government of committing is not a ritual murder or drinking Christian blood, but condoning a massacre infinitely worse than the Kishinev pogrom. By Tuesday, we still had not seen the face of our premier, our minister of defence or our foreign minister on our screens, nor had we heard their voices on the radio. The vacuum was filled with pictures of protest meetings around the country, with impressive and rational denunciations by Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin and with more and more news reports implicating the IDF with knowledge that the Phalangists had gone into the camps to kill.

TRUE, on Monday we had heard one cabinet minister — Yitzhak Moda'i. Who he? What he? He a Liberal member who is a minister without portfolio. Was he the most authoritative source the government could produce for a bewildered and traumatized public? Well, never mind, let us hear what he had to say, in a debate with former chief of staff, Haim Bar-Lev.

Moda'i said that he was sorry about the massacre. A former director of Revlon, I suspect that he would have looked more convincing if a customer had complained that her lipstick was the wrong shade. But at least he did say that somebody in the government regretted what had

happened. He then drew an astonishing distinction between politics and ethics: politics, he explained, had nothing to do with ethics.

That same night three things happened that restored our wavering spirits. There was the bold speech by President Yitzhak Navon. He expressed deep pain and anguish for the innocent Arabs who had been slaughtered, for all the world as if they had been Jews. He then insisted on the setting up of a commission of inquiry. Did he go too far, did he exceed the bounds of his office? Possibly, probably — all the more honour to him.

Then came one of the finest men in the country, Professor Ephraim Urbach, to demolish the infantile lies we had been fed by Eitan and others, and to denounce the horrible Machiavellian distinction between politics and ethics drawn by Moda'i. As one of Israel's leading religious savants, Urbach restored our faith in the Orthodox sector of the country.

Even better was to come — a demonstration by hundreds of young Orthodox Jews, one of whom demanded with great passion: if 2,000 Jews were killed in Israel a few metres away from the IDF, would we believe that the army knew nothing about it? If a similar thing happened to Jews in France, would we believe in the ignorance of the French authorities?

THE PRIME MINISTER rejected out of hand the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry — an ironic contrast with his determination to have one appointed to investigate the killing of Haim Arlosoroff 49 years ago. But there is

certainly authority for his attitude. When the Lord asked Cain about Abel, Cain answered, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Our week of agony reached its climax when the minister of defence, at long last appeared in public — on Wednesday, in the Knesset. And he made the most astonishing statement in his exculpatory address: that any minister of a democratic country can ever have made in all history. Sharon explained that the IDF had indeed sent the Phalangists into the camps, but with explicit instructions only to "clean up" terrorists, and not to raise a hand against old people, women and children.

On this statement alone, we were accessories before the fact of the massacres. It is simple as that. We are like the planner, driver and scout for the gang who enter the bank, with instructions from us only to shoot the manager, the cashier and the teller, not the customers. When they exceed their mandate, we scream, "We're innocent!"

Amazing as it may seem to an incredulous world, the leaders of our government still think that they are libelled! For those of us who have not lost our reason, Rosh Hashana 5743 will always be remembered as the day of the greatest shame in the history of Israel.

I RACK my brains for some way to end on a more cheerful note. Before the horrors began, there was a lovely programme featuring Ilanit, particularly good in her sentimental moments. And there was that terrific comedy, *Barefoot in the Park*. For a few minutes, this made us laugh in the midst of our tears.

READERS' LETTERS

WARS OF THE JEWS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — The Jerusalem Great Synagogue is dedicated to the six million who perished in the European Holocaust. On the second day of Rosh Hashana, it became the site of protest for those who wanted to express their horror at yet another holocaust — the brutal massacre of hundreds of refugees in West Beirut. The protesters were a small group, who earlier in the morning had been part of a larger group which had gathered near the home of the prime minister and had called on Mr. Begin to resign.

After demonstrators had been disbanded by police, some who still sought to make their point took themselves off around the corner to wait for Mr. Begin to emerge from the Great Synagogue at the conclusion of the Rosh Hashana services.

What initially appeared to be a border patrol guard of honour, lined up outside the portals of the building, was quickly transformed into a security cordon as the first cries of "Begin, murderer, resign!" were shouted across the forecourt. Inside the cordon were Mr. Begin's personal security officers, who kept a watchful eye on the crowd. Ringing the outer edge of the cordon were police, who vainly tried to keep the surging mass of people at bay. Most of the worshippers were Begin supporters, and the police visibly breathed a sigh of relief as a counter cry of "Begin! Begin! Kol Hakavod to Begin!" drowned out the negative epithets. The forecourt of a synagogue is not exactly an appropriate location for a shouting

match but if it could have ended at that, one could still say that democracy and free expression are alive and well in Israel. It didn't. The Begin opponents including women, were violently attacked by his supporters, who lunged into them with fists flailing. Another episode in the wars of the Jews.

No one, except the undersigned, tried to break up the melee. No one seemed to remember the meaning of the prayers which they had mouthed only a few minutes earlier. The solemnity of Rosh Hashana was turned into a farce. Beyond responding to the cheers with a wave of his hand, the prime minister did not intervene in what was happening around him. He only had to say a few words about the nature of the Festival, and the fighting would have stopped. But instead, he walked home at a slow gait, as if oblivious to anything untoward. Bad enough that Mr. Begin did nothing to prevent Christian forces from slaughtering Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatilla camps. But Mr. Begin was there in Jerusalem on Rosh Hashana, when Jew raised arm against Jew. He was the direct cause of the conflict, and he did nothing to quell it.

This is the same man who has given countless speeches about the UNITY of the Jewish People. Where will the hypocrisy end? And what can we anticipate in the wars of the Jews on Yom Kippur? How much more desecration will there be while Mr. Begin stays in office?

MRS. D. LANDAU

Jerusalem.

BEGIN'S LACK OF HUMILITY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Begin holds the world to an uncompromising standard of morality and responsibility. Charging the French government with responsibility for the murderous attack in Paris is only one of the more recent examples. But when, in the whole of Begin's political career, did he ever apply these rigorous standards to himself?

From the bombing of the King David Hotel up to the death of Lebanese civilians in bombings, or the Phalangist atrocities of the present day, the consequences of Begin's actions, whether direct or indirect, have always been the other fellow's fault — and a blood libel into the bargain.

Either Begin, Sharon and their yes-men did not know what was going to happen in Beirut, in which case they are fools; or they knew full well, in which case they are criminals. Either way they cannot escape responsibility.

The world has grown weary of

THE RIGHT TO DEBATE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — In his article of September 14, "American consensus," Henry Siegman contends that the issue of the Israel government settling "for the respite and peace the first phase of its operation (Peace for Galilee... is a legitimate subject for debate" — implying that this applies also to American Jews.

In my opinion, it is indeed a legitimate subject for debate — among Israelis, whose homes, lives and sons' lives are at stake and who will have to bear the consequences of the government's policy in terms

of human sacrifice. American Jews, on the other hand, with all their financial, ideological, political and emotional involvement in Israel's fortunes do not lay their lives on the line. Their sons did not fight in Beirut and, if Israel had stopped short after 45 kilometers and the PLO had returned to harass Israel as a result, their homes and lives would not have been threatened by katyushas.

So, is debate intended to persuade the Israel government to either pursue or change a certain policy which can have life and death implications one way or another, and is not merely an academic exercise in free speech, then I challenge Henry Siegman's right to participate in this debate — as long as his participation is confined to the debate and not to the consequences of living in Israel.

Haifa.

EMANUEL SHIMONI

ZIMMERINKA GHETTO

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Former prisoners of the Zimmerinka Ghetto are collecting data concerning the ghetto during the years 1941-1944. We are interested in conditions in the ghetto, the occupations of its inhabitants, the Judenrat, police, school, hospital and underground activities. Former residents who can provide information should write to me at Ramot 6/43, Jerusalem, or telephone 02-861426.

Jerusalem.

EPHRAIM WOLF

WHOSE SHAME?

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — When I saw the headline of your editorial of September 20, "Shame of the Nation," I believed I was about to read a condemnation of those who demonstrated in different parts of the country to put the blame for the Beirut massacre on the prime minister ("Killer Begin"), the defence minister, the chief of staff and the Israel Army.

Reading the editorial, however, I found that I was among those who

were supposed to be ashamed, who were supposed to "exorcise the shame that has engulfed" them. Who is the editorial speaking for? I feel horror and anger over what happened in the refugee camp and in Beirut, but not shame — that I reserve for the hypocritical nations of the world and those citizens of Israel who have joined them and perhaps set the tone for the malicious attacks on Israel, its government, its people and its army.

Mistakes may have been made in the Lebanon but, in the opinion of many, they result from the fallibility of human thinking and planning and not from culpable intent.

M. FEINGOLD

Haifa.

PENFRIENDS

LYNNETTE GRETHE LARSEN (16), of Bondager 42, 2670 Greve Strand, Denmark, would like to have Israeli penfriends.

TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

CRYPTIC PUZZLE

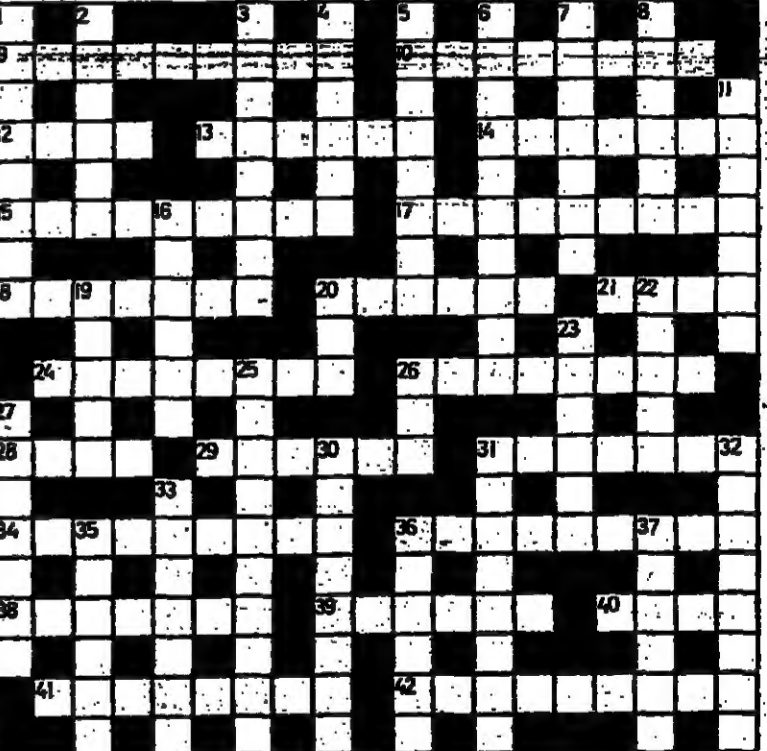
ACROSS

9. Attack that's insulting (9)
10. Someone you have to put up with (4,4)
12. Backs the minor strikes and there's a row (4)
13. Says, "There's a T in 'asset,' silly!" (6)
14. Albert set a snare in the storehouse (7)
15. Explained it had been filtered? (4,5)
17. Plays a truant, but the master is slow to act (9)
18. Not stopping to speak (7)
20. Now playing dice 'outside with the clubman (6)
21. Some nudged gently, move (4)
24. Turned out again to have been scolded (8)
26. As before, dish out pickle (8)
28. Does, perhaps, return the pipe (4)
29. Not shaking the building (6)
31. Flew over part of Sussex, then left (7)
34. Succeeded in getting power when the minister was ill (9)
36. Definite indications they're arranged for U.S. singers (4,5)
38. By mistake, for each, providing only one of a pair (7)
39. Get on a bit, becoming shaky (6)
40. Stop for tobacco (4)
41. The misspelling of "wire" in the book is aggravating (8)
42. Fish-stuffing one's specialty? That's lucky! (9)

DOWN

1. Putting in the scene-mixture mom prepared and the soup (8)
2. Reluctantly inclined to think it's cowed? (6)
3. Languid and not favouring either side (8)

Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.



4. It would be more advisable to cap it (6)
5. Supposed it would be continued on the page above (8)
6. Without exception, prison evermore (3,3,4)
7. As a reflection, it's funny (7)
8. The attitude of Brown in the start of the scene (6)
11. Contended she had dressed outside (7)
16. Be unhappy about her being a red (6)
19. A bit quiet, you say (5)
20. The fish pie came in and one did the same (3)
22. A number left port (5)
23. Tries to get an ace — and does (6)
25. The mistake Frankenstein made in giving the monster life? (3,5)
26. Food obtained from "19" (3)
27. Intend the work to be in ordinary language (7)
30. He doesn't make a good second! (3,5)
31. Hires out a car to put in it dogs (8)
32. Removed the endorsement, as had been intended? (8)
33. Tried to find the map lost in the vehicle (7)
35. Find out the priest has caught it (6)
36. Show up when you leave for the trip (3,3)
37. Happy to catch the law-breaker in Ireland (6)

EASY PUZZLE

ACROSS

9. Shrew (9)
10. Mythical creatures (8)
12. Move slowly (4)
13. Shed (4,2)
14. Good-humoured (7)
15. Rapidly (4,5)
17. Boringly (9)
18. Abused (7)
20. Hit (6)
21. Scheme (4)
24. Journalist (8)
26. Fragrant (8)
28. Verdant (4)
29. Mean (6)

DOWN

1. Burlesque entertainer (8)
2. Spoils utterly (6)
3. Fondled (8)
4. Posture (6)
5. Fraud (8)
6. Biased (10)
7. Furry American mammal (7)
8. Grown-ups (6)
11. Entreating God (7)
16. Empty (6)
19. Prospects (5)
20. Respectful address (3)
22. Thrust (5)
23. Drive (6)
25. Equivalent in effect (10)
26. Stick (3)
27. Shammed (7)
30. Raises (8)
31. Outfits (8)
32. Young bird (8)
33. Moved (7)
35. Suave (6)
36. Ducks (6)
37. Wrench painfully (6)

Yesterday's Cryptic Solution

ACROSS

1. Leg (break) 12. Bi-son 13. Bubbles 15. Cat 16. Yak 18. Tot-Al-s 20. Icon 21. Bay 22. Lid 23. Carafe 25. Via 28. Goo-to 30. April 31. Li-ken 32. Per 1. 33. Saps

Yesterday's Easy Solution

ACROSS

1. Assume 7. Launder 8. Pilots 10. Steam 13. Pend 14. Suds 15. Ring 16. End 17. Hair 19. Rigs 21.

Resolving

23. Fens 24. Aid 26. Mud 27. Aum 29. Pale 32. Bbs 33. Sill 34. Insult 35. Enforced 36. Closer

DOWN

1. Gloss 2. Cured 3. Edam 4. Aspen 5. Sild 6. Matins 9. Ingrid 11. Tug 12. Asher 13. Pillars 15. Rio 16. Egg 18. Assail 20. Inept 21. Red 22. Via 23. Funnal 25. Al 28. Utter 30. Aitch 31. Elude 32. Buns 33. Show

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סוכות האביב

Berman supports Hofi for Electric Corp. post

Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA. — Outgoing Energy Minister Yitzhak Berman yesterday attended a meeting of the Electric Corporation's board of directors to press for the appointment of Aluf (Res.) Yitzhak Hofi as managing director of the state-owned company.

Berman, who resigned on Wednesday in protest at the government's refusal to establish a judicial commission of inquiry into the Beirut massacre, was the only non-director present at the meeting, which was held behind-closed doors.

Berman outlined his reasons for

wanting Hofi, former head of the Mossad security service, to take over the job. The previous managing director, Eytan Jacobson, resigned last month after losing the support of the board in his stormy relations with the company's workers.

Although individual board members have considered several potential candidates, no other names have been put forward and Hofi remains the only official candidate. Corporation chairman David Haguel said yesterday that a final decision was expected to be made at the board's next meeting, in a week's time.

Electric Corporation to say: use more power

Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA. — The Electric Corporation, reversing its longstanding policy of urging the public to use less electric power, will now encourage it, a corporation spokesman said this week.

The policy change is the result of

the switch to coal-fired power stations, which will increase the corporation's capacity to generate more electricity at lower costs. Manufacturing industries now using gas or oil energy sources will be especially encouraged to purchase electricity from the corporation.

Zim ship loading delayed in Italy

Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA. — Dock workers in Leghorn, Italy on Wednesday were three hours late in starting the shift handling cargo on the freighter Zim Tokyo. It was learned here yesterday.

Dan bus co-op holds elections

TEL AVIV. — The opposition faction "change and initiative" in the Dan bus cooperative won five out of the 15 board seats in elections held earlier this week, it was announced yesterday. Ten seats went to the "progressive" faction.

It is not clear whether this was a token boycott against Israel or a genuine operational delay. The Zim spokesman said that the ship nevertheless sailed on schedule after loading was completed and another vessel, the Zim Marseille, which had also been in Leghorn port, sailed on schedule yesterday without any delay.

RUSTLERS. — Five calves worth a total of IS\$85,000 were reported stolen yesterday from Kibbutz Be'eri in the northern Negev.

Bank of Israel exchange rates

September 23, 1982	IS
U.S. dollar	28.9300
British sterling	49.6280
German mark	11.5727
French franc	4.0966
Dutch guilder	10.5603
Swiss franc	13.5174
Swedish krona	4.6481
Norwegian krone	4.1797
Danish krone	3.2983
Finnish mark	6.0246
Canadian dollar	23.5736
Australian dollar	27.7048
South African rand	25.1995
Belgian franc (10)	5.9835
Austrian schilling (10)	6.4867
Italian lire (100)	2.0529
Japanese yen (100)	79.56
Jordanian dinar	6.03
Lebanese lira	

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The Center administration and staff extend best wishes to insureds, pensioners and the entire House of Israel, for a happy year, and a *gmar hatima tova*.

New York Stock Exchange

NEW YORK. — Stocks were narrowly lower at the close after a last hour upturn slashed their steep mid-session losses.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average was off more than 1-1/2 points at a little under 926. It had been down about eight points earlier. The Transportation Average finished with a three-point gain.

Declines were about 4-to-3 ahead of gains after relinquishing a more than 2-to-1 lead.

Volume slowed to 68 million shares from yesterday's 113.1 million.

Commodity futures prices: Members New York Stock Exchange, 100 West St., NY, NY. Tel. 001-212-425-5735

D.J. AVE.	325.86	-1.74
Transport	321.85	+3.15
Utilities	217.42	+0.73
Volume	68,972,000	

D.J. LIST		
Alcoa	34 1/2	-1/2
Allied Chem.	44 1/2	+1/2
Amer. Brands	31 1/2	+1/2
Amer. Can.	27 1/2	+1/2
Amer. T. & T.	34 1/2	+1/2
Beth Steel	34 1/2	+1/2
Chrysler	34 1/2	+1/2
Dyn. Ind.	34 1/2	+1/2
East Kodak	34 1/2	+1/2
Exxon	34 1/2	+1/2
Gen. Elect.	34 1/2	+1/2
Gen. Motors	34 1/2	+1/2
Goodyear	34 1/2	+1/2
Intl. Bus.	34 1/2	+1/2
Intl. Harv.	34 1/2	+1/2
Intl. Paper	34 1/2	+1/2
Intl. Nickel	34 1/2	+1/2

TEL AVIV. — The "bulls" roared back into the fray yesterday and routed the "bears" who had made a sudden appearance the day before. After Wednesday's sharp fall in investors had few hopes that there would be a turnaround before the Yom Kippur recess. However, the early morning "continuous trading" session already gave indications that the "bulls" were in firm control again, and would not be restrained from pushing prices. The afternoon session was no more than an extension of the "continuous trading," as 14 issues were "buyers only" while 76 were up by margins of more than 5%.

The Israel Corporation 1.0 shares grabbed the second-most active slot, as they added on 10%. These

shares have nearly doubled in value over the past ten days. Trading slowed down considerably and the turnover was just under the IS720m. mark.

Index-linked bonds were virtually unchanged in a session which saw less than IS120m. worth of bonds change hands.

The shekel, for the second consecutive session, showed its mettle as it was revalued by 7 agorot against the dollar.

The shares of the recently debuted North American Bank were the star performers among commercial bank issues, as they advanced by 10%, each. Others in the

The 'bulls' rout the 'bears'

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange
 By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

sector showed moderate gains. Among mortgage bank issues Independence Bank gained 10%. Insurance stocks were among the weakest performers, as prices fluctuated in a range of 6% in either direction.

The services sector, on the other hand, put in a strong performance. The new shares of Coral Beach splashed about nicely as they were

up by more than 56%. Magor 0.1 was 9.2% higher, while Teta 5.0 was up by a full 10%.

Land development and real estate issues moved ahead nicely. HLB Real Estate 0.1 was 8.3% higher, while Africa-Israel 1.0 was 9.9% better. Mehadrin and Israel Citrus Plantations were both 10% gainers. Casarea 0.5 was "buyers only," while the 3 option was 13.7% to the good.

Industrials were in fine form. Elco 0.1 and Argaman pref. (r) were both 10% higher. Gal Industries was more than 9% improved. Tadir Cement 1.0 advanced by a full 10%. Pollak 5.0 moved ahead by 9.4%.

The Tempo-beer group came through with 10% performances. Lodzia 0.1 and Assis, by contrast, were both down by 10%.

Recently issued Spectronix could not be bought, as all three securities were "buyers only." Newly issued Feuchtwanger 1.0 and 5.0 came under heavy selling pressure and was rocked for 8.9% and 9.4% losses.

Speculators focused again on the newly issued Rogosin shares which were "buyers only." Elgar (b) as well as the Pama 0.1 and 0.5 shares were all 10% higher. Pirony was up by 50 points in the "continuous trading session" and tacked on another 15 in the afternoon.

The oils were thoroughly mixed without any outstanding developments.

Commercial Banks & Bankholding

Closing price	Change	% change	Volume
IBS pref	28500.0	-1000	-2.5
IBS r	2130.0	+18	+0.8
IBS B r	2130.0	+18	+0.8
IBS pref A	9540.0	n.c.	1.7
IBS op 1	7900.0	-30	-0.4
IBS op 10	4900.0	-10	-0.2
Union r	2130.0	+10	+0.5
Union op 4 r	3870.0	+20	+0.5
Union op 7 r	3210.0	n.c.	4.2
Discount A r	3940.0	+34	+0.9
Discount A r	3940.0	+34	+0.9
Discount op 1	5700.0	+58	+1.0
Discount B	230.0	-12	-5.1
Mirahil r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 3	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 10	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 7 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 8 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 9 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 10 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 11 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 12 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 13 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
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Mirahil op 96 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 97 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 98 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 99 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9
Mirahil op 100 r	1350.0	+12	+0.9

Commercial Services & Utilities

Closing price	Change	% change	Volume
Sahar r	3821.0	-70	-1.8
Sahar B	3821.0	-70	-1.8
Securitas r	3821.0	-70	-1.8
Zur r	947.0	-40	-4.0
Zur op 1	1589.0	-120	-7.0
Zur op 2	748.0	n.c.	0.5
Zion Hold. 1.0	626.0	+24	+4.0
Zion Hold. 5.0	315.0	n.c.	0.5
Galei Zohar 1	551.0	n.c.	0.5
Galei Zohar 5	317.0	-14	-4.2
Galei Zohar op 1	318.0	-2	-0.6

Land Development Building, Citrus

—	—	—	Alkol
—	—	—	Alkol op 1
—80	-8.0	130.6	Electra 0.1 r
—130	-7.0	27.1	Electra 0.5 r
—	—	81.3	Electra op 3
+24	+4.0	99.9	Elron
—	—	44.15	Argaman prf r
—	—	246.8	Argaman pr
-14	-4.2	31.0	Argaman r
-3	-6	148.3	Argaman B
Utilities			
+22	+5.8	91.1	Tadiv Beton 0.1
+120	+4.1	26.5	Tadiv Beton 5.0
+30	+4.7	1.8	Tadiv Beton 1.0
—	—	—	Goldtrust 5
-13	-3.7	107.8	Goldtrust 5.0
+1	+3	84.3	Goldtrust op
+9	+1.3	28.1	Gal Ind op
-15	-5.6	182.5	Gal Ind
-2	-3	169.9	Gal Ind r
—	—	—	Dabek prf r

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing DirectorTHE JERUSALEM
POSTErwin Frenkel
Editor

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Tishrei 7, 5743 • Zil-Hijja 6, 1402

Sharon's slander

THE FALL OUT from the Beirut massacre, deriving in good part from the inability of Mr. Begin and his government to produce an appropriate response to the tragedy, continued to mount yesterday.

In Israel criticism and protest is expanding far beyond the ordinary lines of political partisanship. And abroad, Israel's assets in public opinion and amongst friends, such as, for example, erstwhile supporters in the Senate and the Congress of the United States, have been bankrupted.

The more Mr. Begin "stonewalls" — the word that described Richard Nixon's similar attempt to ward off investigations and resignations in the Watergate Affair — the more the pressure will mount.

Moreover, in crises such as these, when men in power are under pressure, they tend to deepen their personal predicament by desperate and damaging acts of vindictiveness.

Such was the case with Ariel Sharon in the Knesset on Wednesday. Without evidence, without care for the consequences, without concern for the image of the army over which he presides, the Defence Minister, in order to strike at the Labour Opposition, implied that Israeli officers were somehow linked, even if only by geographical proximity, to the Phalange massacre of Palestinians at the Tel az-Zaatar camp in Beirut in 1976.

It was a performance that only the infamous Joe McCarthy could have fully appreciated. The single item missing, as Sharon stood at the Knesset rostrum, was the clutch of bogus documents that McCarthy was wont to wave.

For some time now Sharon has become a growing embarrassment to most Israelis who treasure the heritage of a proud IDF commander by straightforward and honest commanders. Under his tutelage those values have been jettisoned.

Now in order to save his own political skin, he has dared to impugn the army with scurrilous charges which he must know to be untrue. And no matter what evidence will be produced to refute Sharon's sly innuendos, the damage has already been done.

There are limits to the leeway to which even a war hero is entitled. And there are limits certainly for a defence minister.

Even if there were no question of the Beirut massacres — for which Mr. Sharon should have been immediately sacked — his readiness to slander the army in the Knesset Wednesday is sufficient cause to disqualify him from his job and from the Israel Cabinet.

ISRAELI ATTACKS

(Continued from Page One)

after the election of Bashir Jemayel as president. However, with the assassination of Jemayel and the massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps, he decided that the time was still not ripe. It was up to the national government to decide when to begin, he said.

Nammar said that about one-sixth of the sum needed would go towards rehabilitating the city's public utilities, including beginning an underground railway system. The rest would be financed by the private sector, particularly multinational companies whose properties had been devastated, to rebuild private and public buildings.

The mayor estimated the population of Beirut to be about one million — down from 1,150,000 in 1973. The population of greater Beirut,

including suburbs, is 1.5 million. The city proper is 17 sq. km., with West Beirut constituting about 60 per cent in territory and population.

Nammar said the population of Beirut is roughly 50-50 Christian and Moslem, with representation on the 24-man city council fixed by law at 50-50. The mayor, by law, must be a Christian.

Beirut has functioned as a united city during all the years of strife, said the mayor. "The responsibility of our department heads lie on both sides of the city." Under the rehabilitation plans, the Moslem and Christian populations will be mixed, he said.

Nammar was interviewed in his temporary offices in East Beirut, to which he moved when city hall in West Beirut was damaged during the Israeli siege.

RABIN ACCUSES

(Continued from Page Two)

service in the IDF and during Rabin's term as prime minister, when he appointed Sharon his adviser on the war against terrorism.

In his address to the Knesset opposing the establishment of a commission of inquiry to investigate the Phalangist massacre of Palestinians in Beirut last week, Sharon, turning to Labour leader Shimon Peres, said: "Where were the IDF officers on that day of the massacre at Tel az-Zaatar...Where were they?" After Peres responded: "What are you talking about? What tale are you fabricating?" Sharon added: "Were you shocked (then)? You know where they (the IDF officers) were that day."

Rabin yesterday lashed out against Sharon in the following, strongly-worded announcement: "I regard it as my duty towards the IDF and the State of Israel, as prime minister between 1974 and 1977, and as the person who bore general responsibility for the state's actions then, to declare that Defence Minister Ariel Sharon's statement in the Knesset session (Wednesday) — seemingly charging that IDF officers were involved in some manner in the Tel az-Zaatar affair — is a lie lacking any foundation. It is a base attempt by the defence minister to make a blood

libel against the IDF and the State of Israel."

Peres, who following Sharon's charge in the Knesset made a personal statement calling the charge a "fabrication," yesterday spoke with IDF Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan, with former Mossad head Yitzhak Hafi and with a former senior IDF officer who had been the IDF liaison with the Phalange forces in Lebanon in 1976 to doublecheck Sharon's charge. "Peres found out, beyond any doubt, that no IDF officers were in Tel az-Zaatar during the battle and the massacre (January-August, 1976)," said a source close to Peres last night.

Senior Labour Party officials yesterday consulted their legal advisers to see whether "a legal process can be instituted against Sharon, in connection with libel," said a party source. "The problem is Sharon's immunity. Anybody without Sharon's immunity would be clearly open to serious proceedings."

Government sources last night said that Sharon's accusation regarding an IDF link with Tel az-Zaatar "wasn't picked up today by the foreign press." The source, however, said that the story broke late and that "it is likely to make foreign papers" if it continues to make headlines in Israel.

Distraught friends

By WOLF BLITZER / Washington

WHEN PRIME MINISTER Menachem Begin named Ariel Sharon Israel's defence minister, senior Reagan Administration officials shuddered.

At the time, they made it clear they considered the outspoken general to be a dangerous man for Israel — and indeed for the entire Western world, given Israel's association with the United States.

They feared he would lead Israel into adventurous and reckless policies. But not in their wildest dreams, these U.S. officials have said in recent days, could they have imagined that Sharon would drag Israel down to the level it has now reached.

The Lebanese Christian massacres at the two Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut have been a disaster for Israel in Washington — indeed throughout the United States. It will take Israel many years — if ever — to regain its once very high moral image in America. Even among Israel's best friends in Congress and the American Jewish community, the Israeli government is seen as, at least indirectly, responsible for the terrible tragedy.

The U.S. government has hard intelligence information — made available on a classified basis to some influential people in Washington — confirming that Israeli military officers in Beirut were well aware of the brutal killings many hours before the Israel Defence Forces actually went into the camps.

"They simply sat on their hands," one well-placed U.S. source said, referring to high-ranking Israeli military authorities waiting outside the camps in West Beirut. "They did nothing to stop the carnage."

SOME U.S. officials, in private, have gone one step further. They say Sharon and Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan probably knew the Lebanese Christian militiamen would kill many innocent women and children during their "purge" of remaining PLO and Lebanese Moslem terrorists hiding in the camps.

It certainly would not be a unique act. Given the high pitch of their emotions following the assassination of Bashir Jemayel and two dozen of his top Phalange aides, it was apparent to the Israeli Government that some bloody revenge was going to take place.

According to these U.S. officials, there were actual conversations involving senior officials speculating about such a wholesale massacre. When Sharon told the Knesset that neither he nor any other senior Israeli imagined the possibility of such widespread carnage, one American said, he was "playing fast and loose with the truth."

Perhaps Sharon and Eitan, these U.S. officials say, never expected the massacre to be as brutal as it eventually turned out to be, with such devastating consequences for Israel. But it most certainly must have been clear to them — at a minimum — that many innocent Palestinians were going to be killed.

Still, the operation was justified in the minds of these Israeli officials, according to the Americans, by the supposedly greater need to "purify" all of the Lebanese capital of ter-

rorists. If innocent people have to die, that's the price of all wars.

SENIOR U.S. officials are not the only people in Washington who harbour those ugly suspicions. Indeed, they are widespread, even among traditional friends of Israel. Few responsible Americans want to go public with them, given their brutal significance for Israel as a moral society. By the Israeli government and people must recognize that these suspicions do exist in the U.S., and they will not simply disappear.

That is why 31 of Israel's most loyal friends in the U.S. House of Representatives sent Begin a letter on Wednesday strongly urging him to establish an independent commission of inquiry to get to the bottom of the mess. Without it, they said, Israel would forever be perceived as having been implicated in a terrible crime — not unlike those committed so many times against Jews over the past 2,000 years.

Those 31 congressmen included majority leader Jim Wright of Texas, Don Bonker, Clarence Long, Thomas Foley, Norman Lent, Wyche Fowler and Sam Gejdenson.

Many of the Jewish members also signed the letter — Democrats Ben Rosenthal and Steve Solarz of New York, among them.

the Friday Dry Bones

WHEN
TERRORISTS
ATTACKED
FROM SYRIA,
WE BLAMED
THE SYRIANS.WHEN
MURDEROUS
INFILTRATORS
SLIPPED
IN FROM
LEBANON,
WE BLAMED
THE LEBANESE.WHEN
PLO KILLERS
LAUNCHED
RAIDS FROM
JORDAN,
WE BLAMED
THE JORDANIANS.WHEN
FEDAYEEN
GOONS CAME
IN FROM
EGYPT,
WE BLAMED
THE EGYPTIANS.BUT WHEN
WE SEND A
BLOOD THIRSTY
GANG INTO A
REFUGEE
CAMP...WE BLAME
EVERYONE IN
THE WORLD
EXCEPT
OURSELVES!!WHETHER
IT WAS
OMISSION OR
COMMISSION...WE'VE GOT
SOMETHING
TO ATONE
FOR THIS
YOM KIPPUR!

*I find it disquieting
that they are so without
horror at the event'*

Others with a proven track record of defending Israel over many years — for example, Democrat Jonathan Bingham of New York and Republican Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey — were also on the list. It was a strongly worded letter which stunned the Israeli Embassy.

In the Senate, the reaction to the Beirut massacres has also been a disaster for Israel. Even Democrat Alan Cranston of California — who had led the defence of Israel's aerial bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor last year and who had initiated major economic aid increases in Israel in the pending foreign aid bill — sent Begin as tough a letter as anyone on Capitol Hill.

Cranston, appearing on U.S. television, was visibly disturbed, even shaken. It was as if his best friend had suddenly stabbed him in the back.

INDEED, THAT WAS the strong impression one received from many other friends of Israel. Meanwhile, Israel's traditional enemies were gloating, declaring: "We told you so."

Making matters even worse, according to pro-Israeli lobbyists and other American Jewish leaders, was the ill-tempered manner in which Begin so defensively responded to the widely circulated accusations

culpability. The ads were headlined in bold type: "Blood Libel."

The fact that the Government of Israel had to pay for political advertisements in the U.S. press, said one respected Jewish observer in Washington, was in itself an indication of the low level of support left for the Begin government in the United States. Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, this observer said, had also bought full-page ads in major U.S. newspapers last year to deny that he was behind a terrorist plot to kill President Reagan. The comparison was devastating.

Did the Israeli government, moreover, mean that Democratic Senator Henry Jackson of Washington State and other pro-Israel senators and congressmen calling for an investigation were guilty of joining a "blood libel" against Israel? Did Begin mean that such outspoken friends of Israel in the U.S. media as columnists George Will and William Safire and New Republic editor Martin Peretz were joining the anti-Israel gang by similarly proposing an investigation?

FOR MANY American Jews, the ramifications of these recent events are ominous. "The policy of Begin and Sharon for the elimination of the PLO threat — a real one — had

a justifiable aim," Barbara Tuchman, the eminent historian, told *The New York Times*. "What concerns me is the survival and future of Israel and of Jews in the Diaspora — myself, among them. I do not think that the way the situation has developed is in the long-term interest of Israel and ourselves."

Said Elie Wiesel the author and Holocaust survivor: "Since the end of World War II, this has been the worst and darkest Rosh Hashana for me. It is not that I accuse or indict anyone, and surely not the people of Israel. But I felt sadness, incommensurate sadness, almost alarmed. In a strange way, I felt responsible."

"Perhaps, if we had told the story more convincingly, if we had prevented the trivialization and cheapening of what was and remains a unique catastrophe, things would not have happened this way. I believe now that 'a gesture' is needed on our part. Perhaps we

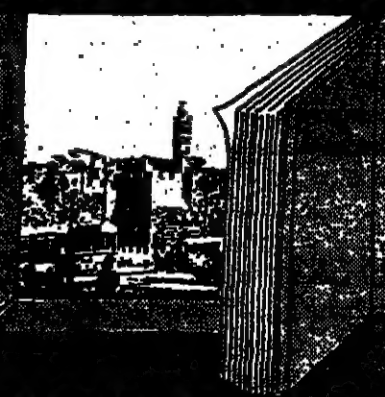
ought to proclaim a day of fasting, surely of taking stock."

IF THERE WAS any silver lining for Israel, it was that Israel's image as a thriving democracy had been undermined dramatically in the aftermath of the massacres. U.S. newspapers quoted extensively from stinging Israeli editorials.

After interviewing two Israeli editors who challenged Begin to come forward with all the facts, ABC's popular anchorman Ted Koppel referred to Israel's free speech and open press.

But even that was little consolation. Thus, referring to Begin and Sharon, the New Republic's Martin Peretz said: "I find it disquieting that they are so without horror at the event." He described them as "zealots and fanatics." It was Peretz, more than any other American editor, who had defended Israel's earlier behaviour in Operation Peace for Galilee.

Readers' letters: Page 16

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FOR THE SAKE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL
FOR OURSELVES AND FOR OUR FUTURE
THE LIKUD GOVERNMENT MUST RESIGN IMMEDIATELY!

Peace Now calls on every person and every group who cares for the future of this country and its moral character, to join the protest against the policies of the Likud government which have lowered us to untold depths.

The Likud government which presumed to bring order to Lebanon —
The Likud government which chose the Phalangists to implement that order —
The Likud government which failed to prevent the massacre in the refugee camps —

THIS GOVERNMENT SHARES RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TRAGEDY.
THIS GOVERNMENT MUST GO.

We demand:
Immediate withdrawal from Beirut.
Full investigation of events that led to the massacre.
Negotiations to solve the Palestinian problem.

Come to a mass demonstration of all groups who cannot come to terms with the character this government is giving our country.

Join us Saturday, September 25, 7.30 p.m., at Kikar Malchei Yisrael in Tel Aviv. (The demonstration has been set for an hour after the end of Shabbat, to enable everyone — religious and secular — to attend).

Bus departures:

Jerusalem,	6.15 p.m.	Jerusalem Theatre, Kiryat Hayovel Centre, Ramat Eshkol Supermarket Denmark High School, Binyanei Ha'uma
Haifa,	5.30 p.m.	Kiryat Haim, The Tzrif
Beersheba,	5.45 p.m.	Gan Ha'em
Rehovot,	5.30 p.m.	Central Bus Station
Rishon LeZion,	5.45 p.m.	Soroka Hospital
	6.30 p.m.	Police Station
	6.45 p.m.	Central Bus Station

A special bus will depart after sundown at 8.45 p.m. from Binyanei Ha'uma.

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